Temple French
1777.

A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

Tranſlated from the French of the Abbé RESNAL,

By J. JUSTAMOND, M. A.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

DUBLIN:

Printed for JOHN EXSHAW, No. 86, and WILLIAM HALHEAD, No. 63, Dame-ſtreet.

M,DCC,LXXVI.


15
MAY

INDEX

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME.

BOOK I.

Page

INTRODUCTION. — 1

The diſcoveries, wars, and conqueſts of the Portugueſe in the Eaſt Indies. — ib.

The firſt expeditions of the Portugueſe; their arrival in the Indies. — — 24

A geographical deſcription of Aſia. — 25

Natural Hiſtory of Indoſtan. — 28

Religion, government, and cuſtom of Indoſtan. 32

The Portugueſe eſtabliſh a ſettlement on the coaſt of Malabar. — — 53

The manner of carrying on trade in India before the conqueſts of the Portugueſe. — 58

The Portugueſe make themſelves maſters of the Red Sea. — — 67

Page
The Portugueſe make themſelves maſters of the Perſian gulph. — — 73
The Portugueſe form a ſettlement at Ceylon. 76
The Portugueſe conquer Malacca. — 79
Settlement of the Portugueſe in the Malacca iſlands. 83
The cauſes of the enterpriſing ſpirit of the Portugueſe. — — 87
Arrival of the Portugueſe at China. State of this empire. — — 90
The beginning of the Portugueſe trade in Japan; the ſtate of the Japaneſe iſlands. — 116
Extent of the Portugueſe dominions in the Indies. 121
Corruption of the Portugueſe in India. — 123
Deciine of the Portugueſe power in India. 129
Preſent ſtate of the Portugueſe affairs in India. 134

BOOK II.

The ſettlements, wars, policy and trade of the Dutch in the Eaſt Indies. — — 136
Ancient revolutions in Holland. — — ib.
Riſe of the republic of Holland. — 141
The firſt voyages of the Hollanders to India. 144
Eſtabliſhment of the India company. — 146
Wars of the Hollanders and Portugueſe. — 148
The Hollanders form a ſettlement at Formoſa. 151
Trade of the Hollanders to Japan. — 154
The Moluccas ſubmit to the Dutch. — 160
The Dutch form a ſettlement at Timor. — 166
The Dutch make themſelves maſters of Celebes. 167
The Dutch open a communication with Borneo. 171
Settlements of the Dutch at Sumatra. — 173

Page
Trade of the Dutch at Siam. — 175
Situation of the Dutch at Malacca. — 176
Settlement of the Dutch at Ceylon. — 178
Trade of the Dutch on the coaſt of Coromandel. 187
Trade of the Dutch on the coaſt of Malabar. 188
The Dutch ſettlement at the Cape of Good Hope. 190
Dominions of the Dutch in the iſland of Java. 196
The manner of conducting the affairs of the Dutch company in India and in Europe. — 213
Cauſes of the proſperity of the company. 218
Reaſons of the decline of the company. — 226
Meaſures that remain to be taken for the re-eſtabliſhment of the company's affairs. — 232
Former good conduct of the Dutch, and their preſent degeneracy. — — 248

BOOK III.

Settlements, trade, and conqueſts of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies. — — 253
Sketch of the ancient ſtate of the Engliſh commerce. ib.
Firſt voyages of the Engliſh to India. — 259
Diſputes between the Engliſh and Dutch. 263
Diſputes of the Engliſh with the Portugueſe. 266
The Engliſh form connections with Perſia. 267
Decline of the Engliſh in India. — 272
Revival of the Engliſh trade in India. — 273
Misfortunes, and miſconduct of the Engliſh in the Indies. — — — 274
War between the Engliſh and French. — 283
General trade of the Red Sea, and of the Engliſh trade there in particular. — — ib.

General

Page
General view of the trade in the Perſian gulph, and that of the Engliſh in particular. — 301
General ſtate of the trade on the coaſt of Malabar, and that of the Engliſh in particular. 312
General ſtate of the coaſt of Coromandel, and that of the Engliſh in particular. — 330
General trade of Bengal and that of the Engliſh in particular. — — 345
The Engliſh ſettlement at St. Helena. — 366
The uſe the Engliſh make of the iſlands of Comora. 367
The Engliſh company leave the country trade to private adventurers. — — 369
The company judge it improper to keep up their marine. — — — 370
Capital of the company. — — 371
Extent of the company's trade. — 372
Dividends of the proprietors. — 376
Conqueſt of Bengal, advantages drawn by the Engliſh from this acquiſition, and the conduct they have hitherto obſerved. — — 377

BOOK IV.

Voyages, ſettlements, wars and trade of the French in the Eaſt Indies. — — 406
Ancient revolutions of commerce in France. ib.
Firſt voyage of the French to the Eaſt Indies. 412
Settlement of the French at Madagaſcar, deſcription of that iſland. — — 413
The French make Surat the center of their trade. Account of this famous city, and of the province of Guzarat, in which it is ſituated. — 420

Attack

Page
Attack of the French upon the iſlands of Ceylon and St. Thomas. Their ſettlement at Pondicherry. 434
Settlement of the French at Siam. Their deſigns on Tonquin and Cochinchina. — — 436
The loſs and recovery of Pondicherry, which became the chief ſettlement in India. — 449
Decline of the French company, and the cauſe of it. 450
The French company recovers a glimpſe of its ancient ſplendour by Law's ſyſtem; but ſoon relapſes into obſcurity. — — 456
Great ſucceſs of the French in India. — 462
Views of the French to aggrandize themſelves. Account of Indoſtan. — — 472
Wars between the Engliſh and French. The French loſe all their ſettlements. — 495
Cauſes of the misfortunes of the French. — 499
Steps taken in France to re-eſtabliſh affairs in India. 501
Meaſures of the French inſufficient. The trade of individuals is ſubſtituted to that of the company. State of that ſociety at the time of its decay. 505
Preſent ſtate of the French upon the coaſt of Malabar. — — — 516
Preſent ſtate of the French at Bengal. Preſent ſituation of the French upon the coaſt of Coromandel. 522
Preſent ſituation of the French in the iſle of France. 526
It behoves the court of Verſailles to fortify the Iſle of France and Pondicherry, if it will have any ſhare in the trade of India. — — 529
The French being once firmly eſtabliſhed in India, will ſhake of the oppreſſion which the Engliſh impoſe upon them. — — 532



☞ The livres in the following work have been reduced to ſterling at the rate of ten-pence halfpenny *per* livre. In the courſe of this operation the tranſlator found reaſon to believe that the author valued them at a different rate, and upon trial, in ſome inſtances, the value came out at the rate of ten-pence two-thirds of a penny. Poſſibly this may have been the author's ſtandard; but as that circumſtance could not be aſcertained throughout, without the identical authorities uſed by the author, and as the work was already far advanced, the tranſlator did not make any change in his calculations, for which he hopes to meet with the reader's indulgence.

There is another more obvious inaccuracy, which is, that in ſeveral inſtances where ſums are to be added together, the total will not be found to anſwer: but for this the tranſlator is not accountable, as he has uniformly reduced the ſums in the original at the rate above-mentioned.

A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION.

BOOK I.

The discoveries, wars, and conquests of the Portugueſe in the Eaſt Indies.

NO event has been ſo intereſting to mankind in general, and to the inhabitants of Europe in particular, as the diſcovery of the new world, and the paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. It gave riſe to a revolution in the commerce, and in the power of nations; and in the manners, induſtry, and government of the world in general. At this period new connexions were formed by the moſt diſtant regions, for the ſupply of wants they had never before experienced. The productions of climates ſituated near the equator, were conſumed in countries bordering on the pole; the induſtry of the north was tranſplanted to the ſouth; and the inhabitants of the weſt, were cloathed with the manufac-

BOOK I.

tures of the eaſt: a general intercourſe of opinions, laws and cuſtoms, diſeaſes and remedies, virtues and vices, was eſtabliſhed throughout the world.

EVERY thing has changed, and muſt change again. But it is a queſtion, whether the revolutions that are paſſed, or thoſe which muſt hereafter take place, have been, or can be of any utility to the human race? Will they ever add to the tranquility, the happineſs, and the pleaſures of mankind? Can they improve our preſent ſtate, or do they only change it?

THE Europeans have founded colonies in all parts, but are they acquainted with the principles on which they ought to be eſtabliſhed? They have indeed encouraged mutual commerce, and promoted agriculture and induſtry. The commerce is transferred from one people to another. Can we not diſcover by what means and in what ſituations this has been effected? Since America, and the paſſage by the Cape has been known, ſome nations that were of no conſequence are become powerful: others, that were the terror of Europe have loſt their authority. How has the condition of theſe ſeveral people been affected by theſe diſcoveries? How comes it to paſs that thoſe to whom nature has been moſt liberal, are not always the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing? To throw ſome light on theſe important queſtions, we muſt take a view of the ſtate of Europe before theſe diſcoveries were made, we muſt trace circumſtantially the events they have given riſe to, and conclude with examining it, as it preſents itſelf at this day.

THE commercial ſtates have civilized all others. The Phœnicians, whoſe extent of country and influence were extremely limited, by their genius for naval enterprizes, acquired an importance which ranked them foremoſt in the hiſtory of ancient nations.

THEY are mentioned by writers of every claſs. They were

were known to the moſt diſtant climate, and their fame has been tranſmitted to ſucceeding ages.

SITUATED on a barren coaſt, ſeparated from the continent by the Mediterranean on one ſide, and the mountains of Libanus on the other; they ſeem to have been deſtined by nature for the dominion of the ſea. Fiſhing taught them the art of navigation, and furniſhed them with the purple dye which they extracted from the murex: at the ſame time the ſea-ſand led them to diſcover the ſecret of making glaſs. Happy in enjoying ſo few natural advantages, for the want of theſe awakened that ſpirit of invention and induſtry, which is the parent of arts and opulence!

IT muſt be confeſſed, that the ſituation of the Phœnicians was admirably adapted to extend their commerce to every part of the world. By inhabiting, as it were, the confines of Africa, Aſia, and Europe, if they could not unite the inhabitants of the globe in one common intereſt, they at leaſt had it in their power, by a commercial intercourſe, to communicate to every nation the enjoyments of all climates. But the ancients, who, though they have taught the moderns much uſeful knowledge, have often been excelled by them, had not ſufficient means to enable them to eſtabliſh an univerſal commerce. The Phœnicians had no ſhipping except gallies; they only carried on a coaſting trade, and their ſailing was confined to the Mediterranean. Though this ſtate was the model upon which other maritime powers were formed, it is not ſo eaſy to determine what they have done, as what they might have done. We may form a conjecture of their population by their colonies. It is ſaid that their numbers extended along the borders of the Mediterranean, particularly on the coaſts of Africa.

TYRE or Sidon, the queen of the ocean, gave birth to

BOOK I.

Carthage. While the opulence of Tyre invited tyrants to rivet its fetters, Carthage, the offspring of Tyre, notwithſtanding its riches, had this happy advantage over the parent ſtate, that it enjoyed its liberty. It commanded the coaſts of Africa, and had poſſeſſion of Spain, which was even then the richeſt country in Europe, and famous for its own gold and ſilver mines, though deſtined at the expence of ſo much bloodſhed, to acquire others in the new world.

HAD the Roman power never exiſted, Carthage would in all probability have been nothing more than a commercial ſtate; but the ambition of one nation excited all the reſt to relinquiſh the arts of commerce for thoſe of war, and either to conquer or to periſh. Carthage, after a long and glorious conteſt for the empire of the world, was forced to ſubmit to the all-ſubduing genius of Rome. The ſubverſion of a republic, which gloried in their induſtry, and owed their power to their ſkill in uſeful arts, was, perhaps, a misfortune to Europe, and to the world in general.

GREECE, interſected on all ſides by ſeas, muſt neceſſarily flouriſh by commerce. Its ſituation in the Archipelago, and its diſtance from any large continent, ſeemed to make it unlikely that it ſhould either conquer or be conquered. Situated between Aſia and Europe, it contributed to civilize both the one and the other, and enjoyed a deſerved ſhare of proſperity, as the reward of its ſervices. As almoſt all the Greeks came either from Egypt or Phœnicia, they brought along with them the knowledge and induſtry of thoſe countries; but of all the Aſiatic colonies, thoſe were the moſt flouriſhing and happy, which had a turn for commerce.

ATHENS employed her firſt ſhips either in trafficking in Aſia, or in planting as many colonies as Greece in her infancy might have received from thence: but theſe emi-

emigrations involved them in wars. The Perſians, living under an arbitrary government, would not even ſuffer any free people to ſettle on the confines of the ſea; and the Satraps inculcated into the great king, the doctrine of univerſal ſlavery. This was the ſource of all the wars in Aſia Minor, where the Athenians found means to make all the inſular and maritime ſtates either their allies or their ſubjects. Athens enlarged her commerce by her victories, and her power by her commerce. All the arts made their appearance in Greece at the ſame time, together with the luxury of Aſia.

COMMERCE, agriculture, and the means of population, were introduced into Sicily by the Greeks and the Carthaginians. Rome, who beheld their progreſs with a jealous eye, made itſelf maſter of an iſland which ſupplied Sicily; and having driven out the two nations that contended for the ſovereignty of it, attacked firſt one, and then the other. From the moment that Carthage was deſtroyed, Greece trembled for her fate. But it was Alexander who marked the way for the Romans; nor was it poſſible, perhaps, that the Greeks could have been ſubdued by a foreign power, if they had not firſt conquered each other. Commerce is finally deſtroyed by the riches it accumulates, as power is by its own conqueſts; and when the commerce of the Greeks had failed in the Mediterranean, it no longer ſubſiſted in any part of the known world.

THE Greeks, by improving upon all the ſciences, and arts they had received from the Egyptians, and Tyrians, elevated human reaſon to a degree of perfection, which has been reduced ſo low by the ſubſequent revolutions of empires, that in all probability it will never riſe again to the ſame ſtandard. Their admirable inſtitutions were ſuperior to the beſt we have at this day. The plan upon which they founded their colonies does honour

BOOK I.

to their humanity. As all the arts owed to them their riſe, and perfection, theſe did not ſurvive the fate of their protectors: It is evident from ſome works of Xenophon, that they were better acquainted with the principles of trade, than moſt modern nations are at preſent.

If we conſider that Europe has the advantage of all the knowledge of the Greeks, that her commerce is infinitely more extenſive, that ſince the improvements in navigation, our ideas are directed to greater, and more various objects; it is aſtoniſhing that we ſhould not have the moſt palpable ſuperiority over them. But it muſt be obſerved, that when theſe people arrived at the knowledge of the arts and of trade, they were juſt produced as it were from the hands of nature, and had all the powers neceſſary to improve the talents ſhe had given them: whereas the European nations had the misfortune to be reſtrained by laws, by government, and by an excluſive and imperious religion. In Greece the arts of trade met with men, in Europe with ſlaves. Whenever the abſurdities of our inſtitutions have been pointed out, we have taken pains to correct them, without ever daring totally to overthrow the edifice. We have remedied ſome abuſes, by introducing others; and, in our efforts to ſupport, reform and palliate, we have adopted more contradictions and abſurdities in our manners, than are to be found among the moſt barbarous people. For this reaſon, if the arts ſhould ever gain admiſſion among the Tartars, and Iroquois, they will make an infinitely more rapid progreſs among them, than they can ever do in Ruſſia and Poland.

The Romans, formed for conqueſt, though they dazzled the world with an appearance of grandeur, fell ſhort of the Greeks in their improvements in philoſophy, and the arts. They promoted an intercourſe between different nations, not by uniting them by the ties of com-

commerce, but by impoſing upon them the ſame yoke of ſubordination. They ravaged the globe, which when reduced to ſubjection, they left in a ſtate rather of lethargy than tranquillity. Their deſpotiſm and military government oppreſſed the people, extinguiſhed the powers of genius, and degraded the human race.

CONSTANTINE paſſed two laws, which though Monteſquieu has not ventured to reckon them among the cauſes of the declenſion of the empire, threw every thing into ſtill greater diſorder. The firſt, dictated by imprudence and fanaticiſm, though it appeared to be the effect of humanity, affords a proof that great innovations are often attended with great danger; and that the original rights of mankind cannot always be made the ſtandard of government. By this law, all ſlaves who ſhould embrace chriſtianity, were allowed their freedom. Thus, while thoſe who had hitherto dragged on a precarious exiſtence, were re-inſtated in their primitive rights, the ſtate was weakened; becauſe the proprietors of large tracts of land were deprived of the number of hands neceſſary for their improvement, and for ſome time reduced to the extremeſt indigence. On the other hand, the new converts, having no property themſelves, or any certain means of ſubſiſtence, were not in a condition to aſſiſt the ſtate, in repairing the injury it had done to their maſters. It is equally impoſſible that they ſhould have any attachment to a ſtate which did not afford them ſubſiſtence, or to a religion, which the irreſiſtible deſire of liberty alone induced them to embrace. By another edict, paganiſm was prohibited throughout the whole empire, and thus theſe extenſive dominions were inhabited by men, whoſe attachment to each other, and to the ſtate, was no longer ſecured by the ſolemn ſanctions of religion: having no prieſts, no temples, no public morals, they had no motives to excite

BOOK I.

them to repel an enemy who ſhould attack a government with which they were no longer connected.

THE inhabitants of the north, therefore, when they fell upon the empire, found every thing ready to favour their invaſion. Harraſſed in Poland and in Germany, by ſome nations who had migrated from great Tartary, they took a temporary poſſeſſion of certain provinces already ruined, till they were expelled by ſucceeding conquerors of a ſtill more ferocious diſpoſition than themſelves. When theſe barbarians determined to ſettle in the regions they had laid waſte, they divided countries which the Romans had formerly united. From that moment, all communication between thoſe ſtates eſtabliſhed by accident, neceſſity or caprice, was at an end. The ſwarms of pirates that infeſted the ſeas, together with the fierce diſpoſition of the inhabitants of the frontiers, diſcouraged every connection that mutual convenience might render neceſſary. The ſubjects of each ſtate, however ſmall in extent, were ſeparated from each other by inſurmountable obſtacles; as the banditti who infeſted the roads, made a journey of any length, a dangerous expedition. The nations of Europe, thus plunged a ſecond time by ſlavery and deſpair, into that ſtate of inſenſibility and indolence, which muſt for many ages have been the ſtate of the human race, derived little advantage from the fertility of their ſoil; and their induſtry was exhauſted in the employments of a ſavage life: tracts of country at no great diſtance, were to them of as little importance, as if they had not exiſted: nor had they any further knowledge of their neighbours, than as they happened to excite their fears, or their enmity.

THE accounts given by ſome authors of the wealth and ſplendour of the ſeventh century, are as fabulous as

as all the other miraculous thing we read of in the hiſtory of thoſe times. Their clothing was of ſkin and coarſe woollen, the conveniences of life were not known; buildings indeed were erected with ſtrength and ſolidity, but conveyed no idea, either of the affluence, or taſte of the age. Neither much money, nor much knowledge of the arts is required to pile up heaps of ſtone by the hands of ſlaves. One inconteſtible proof of the indigence of the people was, that taxes were levied in kind; and that even the contributions which the inferior clergy paid to their ſuperiors, conſiſted of proviſions.

The ſuperſtition that prevailed increaſed the general darkneſs. In the eighth, and the beginning of the ninth century, Rome, no longer the capital of the maſters of the univerſe, attempted to exerciſe her authority as before, in depoſing or making kings. Deprived of inhabitants and ſoldiers, by dint of opinions, and religious tenets alone, ſhe aſpired to univerſal monarchy. By her management princes were excited to take up arms againſt each other, people againſt their kings, and kings againſt their people. All merit conſiſted in making war, and all virtue in obeying the church. The dignity of monarchs was degraded by the claims of Rome, which inſpired a contempt for princes, without exciting the love of liberty. Literature was then compriſed in a few abſurd romances, and ſome melancholy tales, the offſprings of cloiſtered indolence. This contributed to entertain that dejection of ſpirit, and that propenſity to the marvellous, ſo favourable to the intereſts of ſuperſtition.

The face of the globe was again changed by two other nations. A people pouring in from Scandinavia and the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus ſpread themſelves to the north of Europe, which on the ſouthern ſide was harraſſed by the Arabs. The former were diſciples of Wodin,

BOOK I.

Wodin, the latter of Mohammed; men who had equally diffuſed the fanaticiſm of conqueſt with that of religion. Charlemagne ſubdued one of theſe nations, and maintained his ground againſt the other. Theſe inhabitants of the north, called Saxons or Normans, were indigent, ill armed, and undiſciplined, of ſavage manners, and driven to combat and to death by miſery and ſuperſtition. Charlemagne was deſirous of compelling them to change that religion which rendered them ſo terrible, for another which would diſpoſe them to obedience. He was obliged to wade through ſeas of blood, and the croſs was erected on heaps of ſlain. He was leſs ſucceſsful againſt the Arabs, conquerors of Aſia, Africa and Spain, and could not gain a footing beyond the Pyrenean mountains.

THE neceſſity of repulſing the Arabs, but eſpecially the Normans, occaſioned the revival of naval ſkill in Europe. Charlemagne in France, Alfred the Great in England, and ſome cities of Italy, built ſhips; and theſe firſt attempts towards navigation revived for a ſhort time maritime commerce. Charlemagne eſtabliſhed great fairs, the principal of which was at Aix-la-Chapelle. This is the method of trading among people where commerce is ſtill in its infancy.

THE Arabs, however, laid the foundations of the moſt extenſive commerce that had been known ſince the times of Athens and Carthage. It is true this was not ſo much owing to the lights of cultivated reaſon, and to the progreſs of a good adminiſtration, as to the extent of their power, and the nature of the country they poſſeſſed. Maſters of Spain, of Africa, of Aſia Minor, of Perſia, and part of India, they introduced reciprocal exchanges from one region to another, of the commodities in different parts of their vaſt empire. They extended

tended themſelves gradually as far as the Moluccas and to China, ſometimes as traders, ſometimes as miſſionaries, frequently as conquerors.

SOON after this, the Venetians, Genoeſe, and the Arabs of Barcelona, went to Alexandria to buy up the merchandiſe of Africa and India, and diſpoſed of it in Europe. The Arabs, enriched by commerce, and ſated with conqueſt, were no longer the ſame people who burnt the Alexandrian library. They cultivated the arts and polite literature, and are diſtinguiſhed from other conquering nations by their improvements of the reaſon and induſtry of men. To them we owe the ſciences of algebra and chymiſtry, new diſcoveries in aſtronomy, new improvements in mechanics, and medicines, unknown to the ancients. But among the fine arts, poetry is the only one that they have cultivated with ſucceſs.

AT the ſame period, the ſubjects of the Greek empire imitated the manufactures of Aſia; and had, through various channels, monopolized the riches of India. But the advantages they derived from both theſe circumſtances, could not ſurvive the fate of their empire; which had nothing to oppoſe to the heroic and daring enthuſiaſm of the Arabs, but the weak and unmanly weapons of ſcholaſtic logic, and the controverſial armour of monks: who had ſuch an aſcendant, that the Emperor uſed to aſk God pardon for the time he employed in affairs of ſtate. Painting and ſculpture were no longer known, and it was matter of eternal diſpute whether images ought, or ought not, to be worſhipped. The Greeks ſurrounded by the ocean, and in poſſeſſion of ſeveral iſlands, had yet no maritime forces. They defended themſelves againſt the naval power of Egypt, and of the Saracens, by wild fire: the vain and precarious defence of a degenerate people. Conſtantinople,

not

BOOK I.

not being in a condition to protect her maritime trade at a distance, resigned it to the Genoese, who seized upon Caffa, which they made a flourishing city.

The nobility of Europe acquired a tincture of the manners of the Greeks and Arabs in their ridiculous expeditions of the crusades. They became acquainted with their arts and their luxury; which were afterwards almost necessary to their happiness. The Venetians had a more extensive demand for the goods they brought from the east; and the Arabs themselves carried some of them into France, England, and even into Germany.

These powers had at that period neither shipping nor manufactures: they laid restraints upon commerce, and the character of a merchant was held in contempt. This useful set of men were never respected among the Romans. They treated their merchants with as much contempt as their players, courtesans, bastards, slaves and gladiators. The political system, established throughout Europe by the power and ignorance of the northern nations, must necessarily have confirmed a prejudice which owed its rise to a barbarous pride. Our ancestors had the absurdity to adopt, as the basis of their government, a principle destructive of all society; a contempt for useful labour. The only persons held in any degree of estimation were the lords of manors, or such as had distinguished themselves in battle. The nobles, it is well known, were so many petty sovereigns who abused their own power, and opposed that of the monarch. The barons were fond of parade, avaritious, whimsical and poor. Sometimes they invited the merchants into their little states, and at others, they extorted money from them. In these barbarous times were established the several duties of tolls, of export and import, of passage, of quarters, of escheat and other oppressions

preſſions without number. All the bridges and highways were opened or ſtopped up at the will of the prince or his vaſſals. The firſt elements of commerce were ſo totally unknown, that it was cuſtomany to fix the price of goods. The merchants were often pillaged, and always ill paid by the knights and barons. Trade was carried on in caravans or companies, which went armed to the places where the fairs were kept. At theſe marts the merchants omitted nothing that might engage the favour of the people. They were generally accompanied by jugglers, muſicians and buffoons. As there were then no large towns, and neither public ſpectacles and meetings, nor the ſedentary pleaſures of private ſociety were known, the fair time was the ſeaſon for diverſions, which degenerating into diſſoluteneſs, gave a ſanction to the invectives and ſeverities of the clergy. The traders were frequently excommunicated. The people held thoſe ſtrangers in abhorrence, who ſupplied their tyrants with ſuperfluities, and aſſociated with men, whoſe manners were ſo repugnant to their prejudices and rude auſterity of life. The Jews, who ſoon engaged in all the branches of commerce, did not bring it into repute. They were then conſidered in the ſame light throughout all Europe, as they are at this day in Poland and Turky. As their fortunes were increaſing every day, they were enabled to advance money to merchants and tradeſmen; for which they demanded intereſt equivalent to the riſque they ran in veſting their capital in other hands. The ſchoolmen were violent in oppoſing this neceſſary meaſure, which their rude prejudices had taught them to condemn. This theological determination of a point of a civil and political nature, was attended with ſtrange conſequences. The magiſtrates, blinded by an authority, againſt even the unjuſt exerciſe of which no one dared to appeal, denounced ſentence of con-

BOOK I.

confiſcation and ignominious penalties againſt uſury, which, in thoſe dark ages, the laws did not diſtinguiſh from the moſt moderate intereſt. It was at this juncture, that to make themſelves amends for the dangers and mortifications they were expoſed to in carrying on a commerce, which was looked upon as odious and unlawful, the Jews abandoned themſelves to the moſt exceſſive rapacity. They were held in univerſal deteſtation. Perſecuted, pillaged, and proſcribed, they invented bills of exchange, which ſecured the remains of their fortunes. The clergy declared the exchange uſurious, but it was of too great utility to be aboliſhed. One of the effects it produced, was to make the merchants more independant of the prince, who treated them better, apprehending that they might tranſport their riches into foreign countries.

THE Italians, who are better known by the name of Lombards, were the firſt who took advantage of this early change of ideas. They formed ſmall communities, and procured the protection of ſome ſtates, who, on their account, diſpenſed with the laws againſt ſtrangers, which had been made in the barbarous ages. By virtue of this indulgence, they became agents for all the ſouthern parts of Europe.

THE inhabitants of the north began likewiſe to awake from their lethargy: but their recovery was later, and effected with greater difficulty. Hamburgh and Lubec having attempted to open a trade in the Baltic, were obliged to unite for their mutual defence againſt the pirates who infeſted thoſe latitudes. The ſucceſs of this little combination, encouraged other towns to enter into a confederacy: which, in a ſhort time, was compoſed of fourſcore cities, and which had either obtained or purchaſed the privileges of being governed by their own laws, and formed a line of communication from the Baltic

tic to the Rhine. This aſſociation, which was the firſt of modern ones that adopted a regular ſyſtem of commerce, ſupplied the Lombards with naval ſtores and other merchandiſe of the north, in exchange for the produce of Aſia, Italy, and the other ſouthern countries.

FLANDERS was the ſcene of theſe happy tranſactions; but it was not to its ſituation alone that it owed a diſtinction ſo favourable to its intereſts: this muſt likewiſe be attributed to its numerous manufactures of fine cloth, and particularly of tapeſtry; which laſt affords a convincing proof how little the arts of drawing and perſpective were then known. By theſe advantageous circumſtances, the Low-Countries became the richeſt, the moſt populous, and the beſt cultivated part of Europe.

THE flouriſhing condition of the inhabitants of Flanders, the Hanſe Towns, and ſome republics, who owed their proſperity to their freedom, engaged the attention of moſt of the reigning monarchs, in whoſe dominions the rights of citizens had hitherto been confined to the nobility and clergy; and the reſt of their ſubjects were ſlaves. But as ſoon as the cities were declared free, and had large immunities granted them, the merchants and mechanics entered into aſſociations, which roſe in eſtimation as they acquired riches. The ſovereigns oppoſed their power to that of the barons. Thus anarchy and feudal tyranny gradually decreaſed. The tradeſmen became citizens, and the third ſtate was reinſtated in its privilege of being admitted to the national aſſembly.

MONTESQUIEU attributes to Chriſtianity the honour of having aboliſhed ſlavery; but we venture to differ from him. When induſtry and riches prevailed among the people, the princes began to hold them in ſome eſtimation; when the ſovereign could avail himſelf of the riches of the people, to gain advantages over the barons, laws were framed to put the people in a better condition.

BOOK I.

tion. It was to that ſound policy, which commerce always introduces, and not to the ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion, that kings were induced to beſtow freedom upon the ſlaves of their vaſſals, becauſe thoſe ſlaves, when made free, became ſubjects. It is true, that Pope Alexander III. declared that Chriſtians were to be exempt from ſervitude; but this declaration was made merely to pleaſe the kings of France and England, who were deſirous of humbling their vaſſals.

In Italy one might perceive the dawning of more proſperous days. The republics of Piſa, Genoa and Florence, were eſtabliſhed on the wiſeſt principles: the factions of the Guelphs and Gibbelines, which had for ſo many ages laid waſte theſe delightful countries, were at length appeaſed; trade flouriſhed, and conſequently learning would ſoon be introduced. Venice was in the height of its glory; its navy, which eclipſed that of its neighbours, checked the progreſs of the maritime power of the Mammelucs, and the Turks; in commerce it was ſuperior to all the European ſtates taken together; its inhabitants were numerous, and its riches immenſe: the revenues were well managed, and the people were content; the republic borrowed money of the richer ſubjects, from motives not of neceſſity, but of policy. The Venetians were the firſt people who found out the ſecret of attaching rich individuals to the intereſts of government, by inviting them to veſt ſome part of their fortune in the public funds. At Venice there were manufactures of ſilk, gold and ſilver; it ſupplied foreigners with ſhips: their works in gold and ſilver were the beſt, and almoſt the only ones of that time. The inhabitants were even accuſed of extravagance in having gold and ſilver plate, and other utenſils of the ſame materials. They were not however without ſumptuary laws; but theſe laws laid no reſtraint on a kind of luxury by

by which the ſums expended were preſerved to the ſtate. The noblemen united oeconomy with ſplendor; the opulence of Venice had revived the architecture of Athens, and upon the whole there was magnificence as well as elegance in their luxury; the people were ignorant, but the nobles were enlightened; the government oppoſed the attempts of the popes with firmneſs and prudence: *Siamo Veneziani, poi Chriſtiani*, ſaid one of their ſenators, who expreſſed in theſe words the ſenſe of the whole ſenate; at that time even they debaſed the prieſthood, when they had better made it uſeful to morality; which however, was more rigid and pure among the Venetians than among the other people of Italy. Their troops were very different from thoſe miſerable *Condottieri*, whoſe name was ſo much more terrible than their arms. Venice was the ſeat of politeneſs; and ſociety was then under leſs reſtraint from the ſpies of government than it has been ſince the republic began to be jealous of the power of its neighbours, and to be diffident of its own induſtry.

In the fifteenth century, Italy far ſurpaſſed the other ſtates of Europe. Religious zeal, which ſupplied the place of merit, and occaſioned ſo many trifling ceremonies and cruel oppreſſions was, however, the means of releaſing Spain from the Arabian yoke; its ſeveral provinces had lately been united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and the conqueſt of Granada; and its power was even equal to that of France. The fine wool of Caſtile and Leon was manufactured at Segovia, and their cloths were ſold all over Europe and even in Aſia; the perpetual efforts the Spaniards were obliged to make to preſerve their liberty, inſpired them with reſolution and confidence; their ſucceſs had elevated their minds; and being ignorant, they abandoned themſelves to all the enthuſiaſm of chivalry and religion. Confined to a peninſula,

BOOK I.

ninſula, and having no immediate commerce with other nations, they entertained that contempt for them, which either among individuals or communities, is uſually the characteriſtic of ignorance. They were the only people that maintained a ſtanding body of infantry; this infantry was excellent. As the Spaniards for many ages had been involved in war, their ſoldiery was indiſputably ſuperior to that of the other ſtates of Europe.

THE Portugueſe had much the ſame caſt, but their monarchy was better regulated than that of Caſtile, and the adminiſtration was conducted with more eaſe after the reduction of the Moors by the conqueſt of Algarva.

IN France, Lewis the XI. had juſt lowered the power of the great vaſſals, raiſed that of the magiſtracy, and made the nobles ſubject to the laws. The people of France growing leſs dependant on their lords, muſt neceſſarily become, in a ſhort time, more induſtrious, more active and more reſpectable; but induſtry and commerce could not flouriſh on a ſudden. Reaſon muſt of courſe make but a ſlow progreſs in the midſt of thoſe commotions which were ſtill excited by the great and under the reign of a prince devoted to the moſt abominable ſuperſtition. The barons were diſtinguiſhed only by their ſavage haughtineſs; their revenues were ſcarce ſufficient to entertain in their ſuite a train of gentlemen without employment, who defended them againſt the ſovereign and the laws. The expences of their table were immoderate; and this ſavage luxury, of which there are ſtill too many remains, afforded no encouragement to any of the uſeful arts. But neither the manners nor the language of thoſe times, partook of that decency which diſtinguiſhes the ſuperior ranks of citizens, and procures them reſpect from the reſt. Notwithſtanding the courteſy enjoined to the knights, coarſe and rough manners ſtill prevailed among the great, the nation

tion had then the ſame character of inconſiſtence it has ſince preſerved; and which a nation will ever have, whoſe morals and cuſtoms are not conformable to the laws. The prince's councils iſſued innumerable, and frequently contradictory edicts, but the prince readily diſpenſed with the obſervance of them. By this eaſy diſpoſition of the ſovereign, the inconveniences which would have ariſen from a multitude of laws inconſiderately made by the French miniſtry, have been happily prevented.

England, leſs opulent, and leſs induſtrious than France, was compoſed of inſolent barons, deſpotic biſhops, and a people who were tired of their yoke; a certain reſtleſs diſpoſition prevailed in the nation, which muſt neceſſarily ſooner or later introduce liberty. This character owed its riſe to the abſurd tyranny of William the Conqueror, and the cruel temper of ſeveral of his ſucceſſors. The intolerable abuſe of power had made the Engliſh extremely jealous of their ſovereigns; the very name of king carried with it the idea of terror; and theſe ſentiments tranſmitted from father to ſon, afterwards laid the foundations of that form of government they now have the happineſs to enjoy. The long contention between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, while it raiſed a martial ſpirit and an impatience of ſlavery, involved the nation, at the ſame time, in poverty and confuſion. The Engliſh wool was at that time manufactured in Flanders, and was exported as well as its lead and tin, in veſſels belonging to the Hanſe Towns. The principles of navigation, of internal policy, juriſprudence, luxury, and the fine arts were entirely unknown in England; at the ſame time that it was overburthened with a multitude of rich convents and hoſpitals. The diſtreſſed convents were the uſual reſort of the nobles, as the hoſpitals were of the common people; idleneſs and

BOOK I.

barbarous manners were encouraged by theſe ſuperſtitious inſtitutions.

GERMANY, which had long been harraſſed by quarrels between the emperors and the popes, and by inteſtine wars, had at this time begun to enjoy a ſtate of tranquillity; order had taken place of anarchy, and the inhabitants of this extenſive country, who, though ſtrangers to wealth and commerce were verſed in the arts of war and agriculture, had nothing to fear from their neighbours, neither could they be formidable to them. The feudal ſyſtems ſo fatal to mankind in other countries, here aſſumed a milder aſpect; the princes preſiding over this vaſt extent of territory, generally ſpeaking, governed their reſpective ſtates with a good deal of moderation; they ſeldom abuſed their authority, and if the peaceable poſſeſſion of their eſtates could compenſate the want of liberty, the Germans were happy; commerce and induſtry were entirely confined to the free cities, and to the towns included in the Hanſeatic league; the mines of Hanover and Saxony were not yet diſcovered; ſilver was ſcarce; the farmer ſold a few horſes to ſtrangers, nor had the princes yet introduced the traffic of the human ſpecies; the expences of the table, and a variety of equipages were the only articles of luxury; the nobles and the clergy intoxicated themſelves, without diſturbing the government; it was with ſome difficulty that the gentry were diſſuaded from amuſing themſelves with robbing on the highways; their manners were ſavage, and during the two ſucceeding centuries the German troops were more diſtinguiſhed by their cruelties than by their diſcipline and bravery.

THE northern countries had made leſs progreſs than Germany. Oppreſſed by the nobles and prieſts, the inhabitants no longer retained that enthuſiaſtic love of glory with which the religion of Wodin had formerly inſpired

inſpired them: nor were they yet acquainted with thoſe wiſe inſtitutions which ſome of them have ſince borrowed from better forms of government. Their power was ſo inconſiderable, that a ſingle Hanſe town was capable of intimidating the three potentates of the north. They reſumed a national character after the reformation, and under the auſpices of Frederic and Guſtavus Vaſa.

The Turks were ſtrangers to the ſcience of government: they had no knowledge of the arts, nor taſte for commerce: but the Janiſſaries were the beſt troops in the world. Theſe attendants of a deſpot whom they kept in awe, at the ſame time that they inſured reſpect to him whom they placed upon the throne, or ſtrangled at pleaſure, had at that time ſome great men for their leaders. They ſubverted the empire of the Greeks, who were infatuated with theology, and ſtupified by ſuperſtition. Some of the inhabitants of this mild climate, who cultivated literature and the arts, abandoned their country after it was ſubdued, and took refuge in Italy; whither they were followed by artiſts and traders. Tranquillity, peace, proſperity, a deſire of excelling, and the want of new pleaſures, which is the effect of good governments, favoured the revival of letters in the country of the ancient Romans; and it was from the Greeks that the Italians derived a better knowledge of good models, and a taſte for antiquity. The art of printing was invented; and though for a long time the diſcovery was of little uſe while the people continued in a ſtate of poverty and indolence, yet when commerce and the arts had made ſome progreſs, it made books become common. A love of ſtudy prevailed, and the ancients were univerſally admired: but they had no rivals except in Italy.

Rome, which in every century has almoſt always aſ-

BOOK I.

ſumed a character the beſt adapted to the preſent moment, ſeemed diſpoſed no longer to encourage that ignorance which had ſo long been ſubſervient to her intereſts. She protected polite literature, and ſuch of the arts as depended more on imagination than reaſon. The moſt ignorant prieſt is well aware, that repreſentations of a terrible divinity, mortification, ſelf-denial, auſterity, melancholy and terror, are ſo many expedients to gain an aſcendant over the minds of men, by engaging them deeply in religious matters. But there are times when theſe expedients have but little ſucceſs. Men, who have grown rich in peaceful ſtates, are fond of enjoying themſelves; they diſlike the dull road of life, and are eager in their purſuit of pleaſures. When fairs began to be eſtabliſhed, with entertainments of ſports, dancing, and other recreations, the clergy, who obſerved, that the love of feſtivity made the people leſs religious, prohibited theſe ſports, and excommunicated thoſe who bore a part in them. But when they found that no regard was paid to their cenſures, they changed their plan, and determined to take theſe amuſements into their own hands. This was the origin of ſacred comedy. The death of St. Catherine, acted by the monks of St. Dennis, rivalled the ſucceſs of the players. Muſic was introduced into the churches; and even farces were exhibited there. The feſtivals called *la Fete des foux & de L'Ane, & des Innocens*, proved as entertaining to the people as the farces that were acted in the public places. It often happened, that attracted by the mere love of amuſement, they left the Egyptian dances to join in the proceſſion for the feſtival of St. John. As Italy improved in politeneſs, their pleaſures became more refined; and the decency that was introduced into their common feaſts and public entertainments, afforded leſs pretence for the cenſures of the prieſts, and procured them

them a toleration. The merit of being able to read had been long confined to this claſs of men; but when it became a more general accompliſhment, they could no longer avail themſelves of this diſtinction: and finding that learning was the road to fame, they were ambitious of ſhining in literary purſuits. The popes, who enjoyed an opulent and peaceful ſovereignty in the voluptuous region of Italy, laid aſide their auſterity. Their court became an agreeable one. The encouragement of literature was conſidered as a new expedient to eſtabliſh their authority over the minds of men. Genius was cheriſhed; and marks of honour were conferred upon great artiſts. Raphael died but a ſhort time before he was to have been created a cardinal; and Petrarch had the honours of a triumph. As little conformable as this good taſte, theſe fine arts, and new amuſements, may appear to the ſpirit of the goſpel, they were evidently calculated to promote the intereſt of the papal throne. The belles lettres ſerve to embelliſh the ſtructure of the church; but philoſophy demoliſhes it. Thus, while the church of Rome favoured polite literature, and the fine arts, it diſcountenanced the ſeverer ſciences. The poets were crowned with laurel; but the philoſophers were perſecuted. Galileo from his priſon might have beheld Taſſo carried in triumph to the capitol, if thoſe men of great genius had been cotemporaries.

It was high time that philoſophy and learning ſhould lend their ſupport to morality and reaſon. The church of Rome had taken all imaginable pains to ſubvert thoſe principles of juſtice which nature had implanted in all mankind. The ſingle maxim that the pope had a right to the ſovereignty of all empires, ſapped the foundation of all ſociety and public virtue; this maxim, however, had for a long time prevailed, together with that

BOOK I.

horrid doctrine, which not only permitted but enjoined hatred and perſecution towards all, whoſe religious opinions were not agreeable to thoſe of the Romiſh church. Indulgences, a ſpecies of expiation which might be purchaſed for all crimes, or if any thing can be ſtill more monſtrous, for crimes to be committed in future; diſpenſations for breaking faith with the enemies of the pontiff, though they were of the ſame religion; that article of belief which teaches, that the merit of the juſt may be transferred to the wicked; vices of all kinds exemplified in the lives of the popes, and other religious perſons, who ought to be models to the people; above all, that greateſt reproach to humanity, the inquiſition: all theſe horrid enormities made Europe appear to be rather the haunt of tygers and ſerpents, than a vaſt country inhabited or cultivated by men.

SUCH was the ſituation of Europe, when the Portugueſe monarch, at the head of an active, generous and intelligent people, ſurrounded by neighbours who ſtill preyed upon each other, formed the plan of extending their dominion by ſea and land.

The firſt expeditions of the Portugueſe; their arrival in the Indies.

JOHN I. had ſeveral ſons, who, being ambitious of ſignalizing themſelves, undertook, firſt of all, ſome expeditions to Barbary. Henry, whoſe genius was ſuperior to the reſt, took it into his head to make diſcoveries in the weſt. This young prince availed himſelf of the little knowledge of aſtronomy which was preſerved among the Arabs. At Sagrés, a city of Algarva, he eſtabliſhed an obſervatory, and made it the place of education for all the nobility who compoſed his train: he had a conſiderable ſhare in the invention of the Aſtrolabe, and was the firſt who was ſenſible of the advantages that might be drawn from the compaſs, which, though already known in Europe, had never been applied to the purpoſes of navigation.

THE

THE pilots, who ſtudied under his direction, diſcovered Madeira in the year 1418. Two years after this, one of his ſhips took poſſeſſion of the Canaries; he doubled the Cape of Sierra-Leona, and the river Zara led him into the interior parts of Africa as far as Congo. He made an eaſy conqueſt of thoſe countries, and eſtabliſhed an advantageous commerce. The inconſiderable nations who inhabited thoſe parts, being ſeparated from each other by impaſſable deſarts, were ſtrangers both to the value of their riches, and the art of defending themſelves. Theſe voyages raiſed great expectations: the revenues, that might in future ariſe from the coaſt of Guinea, were farmed. An inſtance of avidity ſo premature, ſhows, that princes, who undertook theſe diſcoveries, were more ſolicitous to increaſe their finances, than to promote the commerce of their ſubjects.

IN the reign of John the Second, an intelligent prince, who firſt declared Liſbon a free port, and made a new application of aſtronomy to navigation, ſome of his ſubjects, being ſent out upon an expedition, doubled the Cape at the extremity of Africa. This Cape was then called the Cape of Storms; but the prince, who foreſaw that it would open a paſſage to the Indies, gave it the name of the Cape of Good Hope.

EMANUEL purſued the plan chalked out by his predeceſſors. In 1497 he equipped a fleet conſiſting of four ſhips, and gave the command of it to *Vaſco de Gama*. This admiral, having weathered ſeveral ſtorms in his cruiſe along the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, and attempted ſeas before unknown, landed at length in Indoſtan, after a voyage of thirteen months.

A geographical deſcription of Aſia.

ASIA, of which Indoſtan is one of the richeſt parts, is a vaſt continent, lying, according to the obſervations of the Ruſſians, the truth of which has been juſtly doubted, between the 43d and the 207th degree of longitude. It extends,

BOOK I.

extends, between the two poles, from the 77th degree of northern, to the 10th degree of ſouthern latitude. That part of this large continent which is ſituated in the temperate zone, between the 35th and the 50th degree of latitude, appears to be higher than the reſt: it is bordered both towards the north and ſouth by two vaſt chains of mountains, which run almoſt from the weſtern extremity of Aſia Minor and the coaſts of the Black Sea, to the ocean that waſhes the coaſts of China and Tartary towards the eaſt. Theſe two chains are united by other intermediate chains, in a direction from ſouth to north; they branch out both towards the northern, the Indian, and eaſtern oceans, and appear like ſo many bulwarks raiſed between the beds of the large rivers which roll through thoſe immenſe regions.

SUCH is the great baſis which nature has raiſed to ſupport the fabric of Aſia. In the inland parts of this vaſt country, the earth, parched by the heat of the ſun, becomes ſo light, that it is carried about by the winds; there is not the leaſt appearance either of ſtone or marble; no petrified ſhells, or other foſſils, are to be found; the beds of minerals lie upon the ſurface. All theſe phænomena, joined to the obſervations made with the barometer, are proofs of the great elevation of the central part of Aſia, to which the moderns have given the name of the leſſer Bucharia.

FROM theſe heights, which form a kind of girdle, ſurrounding this immenſe and unfruitful region, ſeveral large ſtreams ariſe, that run in different channels. The fragments of barren earth, which are perpetually carried down by theſe rivers toward the ſeveral extremities of Aſia, form ſo many barriers againſt the ſea, and promiſe a ſtability and duration to this continent, ſuperior to that of any other. Perhaps it will be its fate to

ſee the reſt repeatedly buried under the waters, be-
re it ſuffers any encroachment itſelf.

THE Caſpian ſea alone has preſerved its ſtation with-
the limits of this vaſt tract of land, which has been
merging from the deep through a ſeries of ages. It
ay doubtleſs be conſidered as the reſervoir of thoſe
rge rivers that fall into it; but may likewiſe have
me ſmall communication, by ſubterraneous paſſages,
ith the ocean and the Mediterranean, if it be true, as
appears to be from obſervations made with the baro-
eter at Aſtracan, that its ſurface is below the level of
both thoſe ſeas.

THE frozen ocean, which waſhes the northern coaſts
Siberia, renders them inacceſſible, if we may believe
accounts given by the Ruſſians. They tell us that
is in vain to expect to find a new paſſage by this
from Europe to America; and that the ice will al-
ys prevent the doubling of the Cape of Schalaginſkoi,
hich ſeparates the old from the new world, though
s paſſage has once been croſſed. But the Ruſſians
probably either not ſufficiently ſincere, or ſufficient-
informed, to deſerve entire credit; and either do not
ow all that they tell us, or do not tell us all that they
w.

THE Indian ocean, which preſſes towards the ſouth of
a, is divided from the great ſouth ſea by a chain of
untains, which begins at the iſland of Madagaſcar,
extending under water as far as Sumatra, as is evi-
t from the ſhallows and rocks which are ſcattered in
ſe parts, unites again at Van Diemens Land and
w Guinea. M. Buache, a geographer, who has ex-
ined the earth as a natural philoſopher, and has laid
wn a chart of the world according to this hypotheſis,
of opinion, that the ſea between this long chain of
nds and the ſouthern coaſts of Aſia, ſhould be divid-

ed

BOOK I.

ed into three great baſons; the limits of which ſeem t have been circumſcribed or drawn by the hand of na ture.

THE firſt, which lies towards the weſt, between Ara bia and Perſia, is bounded towards the ſouth by tha chain of iſlands, which extends from Cape Comori and the Maldiva Iſlands to Madagaſcar. This baſon which runs into the land, is inceſſantly enlarging th Gulph of Perſia and the Red Sea. The ſecond of thef baſons forms the Gulph of Bengal. The third include the great Archipelago, which contains the Sunda, th Moluccas, and the Philippine Iſlands. This joins Af to the ſouthern continent, and ſerves as a boundary t the Pacific Ocean. Between this ſea and the gre Archipelago, a kind of new baſon is formed by a cha of mountains under water towards the eaſt, which ex tends from the Ladrone to the Japan Iſlands. Whe we have paſſed theſe celebrated iſlands, we come to chain of iſlands called Kuriles, which touch the ſouther point of the Peninſula of Kamtſchatka; and form a fift baſon into which the river Amur empties itſelf; but a its entrance is obſtructed by the Bamboos, which gro there in great abundance, it is imagined that this ſea h very little depth.

THESE geographical details, far from being foreig to our purpoſe, are in a manner neceſſary to direct an engage our attention to the richeſt and fineſt contine upon the globe. We will begin with Indoſtan.

Natural hiſtory of Indoſtan.

THOUGH by the general name of the Eaſt Indies commonly underſtood that immenſe tract of land whic lies beyond the Arabian ſea, and the Perſian empire yet by Indoſtan is properly meant a country lying be tween two celebrated rivers, the Indus and the Ganges which fall into the Indian ocean, at the diſtance of fou hundred leagues from each other. A ridge of hig mounta

mountains runs across this long tract from north to south, and dividing it into two equal parts, extends as far as Cape Comorin, where it forms the boundary between the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel.

It is a remarkable circumstance, and perhaps the only one of the kind, that this ridge seems to be a barrier, erected by nature, to separate one season from another. The mere breadth of these mountains divides summer from winter; that is to say, the season of fine weather from the rainy; for it is well known there is no winter between the tropics; all that is meant by winter in the Indies is that time of the year when the clouds, which the sun attracts from the sea, are driven violently by the winds against the mountains, where they break and dissolve in rain, accompanied with frequent storms. From hence torrents are formed, which rush from the hills, swell the rivers, and overflow the vallies; dark vapours, that obscure the day, spread a thick and impenetrable gloom over the deluged country: but, like the abyss which brooded over the principles of things before the creation, this cloudy season promotes fertility: at this time the plants and flowers appear in full strength and beauty, and the fruits in general come to maturity.

The summer may naturally be expected to preserve its usual temperature better than the winter, in a climate so immediately under the influence of the sun: the sky, without a cloud to intercept its rays, seems to be all on fire; but the sea breezes which spring up in the day-time, and the land-breezes that blow during the night, alternately alleviate the heat of the atmosphere; yet the calms, that now and then intervene, stifle these refreshing gales, and the inhabitants are reduced to suffer the inconveniencies of excessive drought.

The,

BOOK I.

THE effect of the two different ſeaſons is ſtill more remarkably felt in the two Indian oceans, where they are diſtinguiſhed by the name of the dry and rainy monſoons. While the ſea that waſhes the coaſts of Malabar is agitated by ſtorms, which the returning ſun introduces with the ſpring, the ſlighteſt veſſels ſail along the coaſt of Coromandel upon a ſmooth ſurface, and require neither ſkill nor precaution in their pilots; but in the autumn, which, in its turn, changes the face of the elements, the weſtern coaſt enjoys a perfect calm, while the eaſtern Indian ocean is toſſed by tempeſts; each experiencing, as it were, the alternatives of peace and war. An inhabitant of the iſland of Ceylon, who contemplates the equatorial region at the two equinoxes, ſees alternately, on the right hand, the waves vexed with ſtorms, and, on the left, lulled into tranquility; as if the Author of Nature, who holds the ſcales of calamities and bleſſings perpetually in his hands, had inſtantly turned the beam in equilibrium, from one ſide to the other. It is not improbable that the doctrine of the Manichees, concerning the two principles, might take its riſe in India, where the two empires of good and evil are divided only by a partition of mountains; ſince pain and pleaſure ſeem to be as much the origin of the different forms of worſhip, as they are of the ideas of mankind. There is ſo infinite a connection between natural and moral principles, that all ſyſtems of importance to the happineſs of the human ſpecies have taken their colour from the nature of the climate: accordingly it is obſervable, that the Indians, whoſe imaginations receive the deepeſt impreſſion of nature from the more forcible operation of good and evil, and the view they conſtantly have of the diſcord of the elements, are placed in a ſituation moſt fertile in revolutions, events and tranſactions of every kind.

HENCE

HENCE it is, that the celebrated countries of Indostan, have long engaged the attention of the philosopher, and the historian, whose conjectures have assigned to their earliest inhabitants an æra of the most extraordinary antiquity. To say the truth, whether we consult historical records, or consider the position of Indostan upon the globe, taking for granted that the ocean has a progressive motion from East to West, we must allow that this part of the earth was the first that was inhabited. We may trace the origin of most of the sciences in the history of that country. Even before the age of Pythagoras, the Greeks travelled to India for instruction; the trade carried on by them with the oldest commercial nations, in exchange for their cloth, is a proof of their great progress in the arts of industry.

UPON the whole, it should seem reasonable to conclude, that a climate the best adapted to the human species, would be peopled the earliest; and that the first men would fix their abode in a delicious climate, pure air, and a soil too fertile to require much cultivation. If the human race could be supposed to multiply and extend themselves in those horrid regions, where they must maintain a perpetual struggle with nature; if they could inhabit burning sands and impracticable morasses, and regions of perpetual ice; or frequent deserts and forests, where they must defend themselves against the violence of the elements, and the attacks of wild beasts; how easily might they not form themselves into societies in these delightful countries, where mankind, exempt from necessity, has nothing to pursue but pleasure; where enjoying without labour and anxiety, the choicest productions, and the most glorious prospect of the great scene of nature, they might justly assume the distinguishing title of Lords of the Creation. These delightful scenes presented

BOOK I.

preſented themſelves on the banks of the Ganges, and in the plains of Indoſtan. The air is perfumed with the moſt delicious fruits, and affords a wholeſome and refreſhing nouriſhment; the trees form a ſhade inpenetrable to the rays of the ſun; while the living animals that are diſperſed over the globe, cannot ſubſiſt in other parts without devouring each other, they ſhare in India, in common with their maſter, the ſweets of plenty and ſecurity. Even at this day, when we may think that the earth muſt have been exhauſted by the productions of ſo many ages, and their conſumption in foreign countries, Indoſtan, if we except a few ſandy and barren diſtricts, is ſtill the moſt fruitful country in the world.

Religion, government, and cuſtoms of Indoſtan.

THE ſyſtem of morals in this country is no leſs extraordinary than the ſyſtem of nature. When we fix our eyes on this vaſt region, where nature hath exerted her utmoſt efforts for the happineſs of man, we cannot but regret that man hath done all in his power to oppoſe her. The rage of conqueſt, and what is no leſs deſtructive an evil, the greedineſs of traders have, in their turns, ravaged and oppreſſed the fineſt country on the face of the globe.

NOTWITHSTANDING the numbers of ſavage banditti, and other ſtrangers, whom war or deſire of gain has invited to the Indies, it is eaſy to diſtinguiſh the ancient inhabitants. There is not, however, ſo much difference in the caſt of complexion and outward appearance of theſe people, as in the particularities of their character; oppreſſed as they have been with the yoke of tyranny, or rather of the wildeſt anarchy, they have not adopted either the manners, the laws, or the religion of their maſters. Their continual experience of all the horrors of war, all the exceſſes and vices of which human nature is capable, has not tainted their character. Nothing has ever been able to reconcile the tender, humane

humane and timorous Indian to ſcenes of blood, or to animate him with the courage and ſpirit of rebellion. His vices ariſe ſolely from weakneſs.

THE judicious traveller, who traverſing the plains of Egypt, ſees trunks of columns, mutilated ſtatues, broken entablatures, and immenſe pyramids that have eſcaped the ravages of war and time, diſperſed about the country, is loſt in admiration at the view of the ruins of a nation which no longer exiſts. He cannot now find out the ſituation of Thebes, that city ſo celebrated in antiquity for its hundred gates; but the venerable remains of its temples and of its tombs, give him a higher idea of its magnificence than the deſcriptions of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.

WHEN we attentively examine the accounts given by travellers of the manners of the natives of India, we ſeem to wander among heaps of ruins, the remains of an immenſe fabric. The original form is loſt, but enough is preſerved to convince us of the magnificence and regularity of the plans. Amidſt a variety of abſurd ſuperſtitions, puerile and extravagant cuſtoms, ſtrange ceremonies and prejudices, we may diſcover the traces of ſublime morality, deep philoſophy, and refined policy; but when we attempt to trace the religious and civil inſtitutions to their ſource, we find that they are loſt in the maze of antiquity. By the moſt ancient traditions, the Indians appear to have been the firſt who received the rudiments of ſcience, and the poliſh of civilization. But their legiſlative ſyſtem has never been diſcovered; and the ancients themſelves ſeem only to have retained ſome fragments of it.

IN India are found the traces of a multitude of ſuperſtitious obſervances, arts, ſports, errors and truths of all kinds, which have been adopted by almoſt all nations.

BOOK I.

THE Indians themſelves are ignorant of the origin of their religion and policy: they have to this day preſerved cuſtoms which muſt certainly have owed their riſe to a ſyſtem that no longer exiſts: the ſpirit of their political conſtitution is loſt, and every branch of it either changed or corrupted. Their religion, which was of the allegorical and moral kind, hath degenerated into a heap of extravagant and obſcene ſuperſtitions, owing to their having realized thoſe fictions which were intended merely as ſo many ſymbols and emblems.

WERE it poſſible to obtain a ſight of their ſacred books, the only remains there are of the Indian antiquities, we might, in ſome meaſure, be enabled to remove the veil that envelopes theſe numerous myſteries; but we have little reaſon to hope that we ſhall ever be intruſted with ſuch a communication.

THE emperor Mahmoud Akebar took it into his head to make himſelf acquainted with the principles of all the religious ſects throughout his extenſive provinces. Having diſcarded the ſuperſtitious notions with which he had been prepoſſeſſed by his education in the Mohammedan religion, he reſolved to judge for himſelf. It was eaſy for him to be informed of the nature of thoſe ſyſtems, that are formed upon the plan of making proſelytes; but he found himſelf diſappointed in his deſign, when he came to treat with the Indians, who will not admit any perſon whatever to the participation of their myſteries.

NEITHER the authority nor promiſes of Akebar could prevail with the Bramins to diſcloſe the tenets of their religion; he was therefore obliged to have recourſe to artifice. The ſtratagem he made uſe of was to cauſe an infant, of the name of Feizi, to be committed to the care of theſe prieſts, as a poor orphan of the ſacerdotal line, who alone could be initiated into the

the ſacred rites of their theology. Feizi, having received the proper inſtructions for the part he was to act, was conveyed privately to Benares, the ſeat of knowledge in Indoſtan; he was received into the houſe of a learned Bramin, who educated him with the ſame care as if he had been his ſon. After the youth had ſpent ten years in ſtudy, Akebar was deſirous of recalling him; but he was ſtruck with the charms of the daughter of his preceptor.

THE women of the ſacerdotal tribe are looked upon as the greateſt beauties in Indoſtan. The old Bramin laid no reſtraint on the growing paſſion of the two lovers; he was fond of Feizi, who had gained his affection by his addreſs and docility, and offered him his daughter in marriage. The young man divided between love and gratitude, reſolved to conceal the fraud no longer; and, falling at the feet of the Bramin, diſcovered the impoſture, and aſked pardon for his offence.

THE prieſt, without reproaching him in the leaſt, ſeized a poinard which hung at his girdle, and was going to plunge it in his breaſt, if Feizi had not prevented him by taking hold of his arm. The young man uſed every means to pacify him, and declared himſelf ready to do any thing to expiate his treachery. The Bramin, burſting into tears, promiſed to pardon him on condition that he ſhould ſwear never to tranſlate the *Vedas*, or ſacred volumes, or diſcloſe to any perſon whatever the ſymbol of the Bramin creed. Feizi readily promiſed all that the Bramin required: how far he kept his word is not known; but the ſacred books of the Indians have never been tranſlated by him, or any one elſe, to this day.

As the Bramins are the only perſons who underſtand the language of the ſacred book, their comments on the text are the ſame as thoſe which have ever been made

BOOK I.

on religious books; all the maxims which fancy, intereſt, paſſion or falſe zeal can ſuggeſt, are to be found in theſe volumes. Theſe excluſive pretenſions of the interpreters of religion have given them that unbounded influence over the people, which impoſtors and fanatics will not fail to exert over men who have not the courage to conſult either their own reaſon, or their own feelings.

From the Indus to the Ganges, the *Vedam* is univerſally received as the book that contains the principles of religion; but the generality differ on ſeveral points relative to faith and practice. That ſpirit of debate and refinement, which for ſo many ages has infected the philoſophy of our ſchools, has made ſtill farther progreſs among the Bramins, and cauſed more abſurdities in their doctrines, than it has introduced into ours, by a mixture of Platoniſm, which is perhaps itſelf derived from the doctrines of the Bramins.

Throughout all Indoſtan, the laws of government, cuſtoms and manners make a part of religion; being all derived from Brama, a being far ſuperior in dignity to the human race, the interpreter of the divinity, the author of the ſacred books, and the great lawgiver of India.

There is ſome reaſon to believe that Brama was poſſeſſed of the ſovereign authority; as his religious inſtitutions were evidently deſigned to inſpire the people with a profound reverence and great love for their country, and particularly levelled againſt the vices incident to the climate. Few religions ſeem to have been ſo well adapted to the countries for which they were calculated.

The Indians entertain the ſame religious veneration for him, as they do for the three capital rivers of Indoſtan, the Indus, the Criſtina and the Ganges. It was he who rendered ſacred the animal that is moſt ſerviceable

in

in the cultivation of land, as well as the cow, whoſe milk is ſo wholeſome a nouriſhment in hot countries. To him they aſcribe the diviſion of the people into tribes or *caſtes*, diſtinguiſhed from each other by their political and religious principles. This inſtitution is antecedent to all traditions and known records, and may be conſidered as the moſt ſtriking proof of the great antiquity of the Indians. Nothing appears more contrary to the natural progreſs of ſocial connections, than this diſtribution of the members of the ſame community into diſtinct claſſes. Such an idea could only be the reſult of a ſtudied plan of legiſlation, which pre-ſuppoſes a great proficiency in civilization and knowledge. Another circumſtance ſtill more extraordinary is, that this diſtinction ſhould continue ſo many ages, after the leading idea and connecting tie was forgotten; and affords us a remarkable example of the ſtrength of national prejudices, when ſanctified by religious ideas.

THE nation is divided into four claſſes, the Bramins, the ſoldiery, huſbandmen and mechanics: theſe claſſes have their ſubdiviſions. There are ſeveral orders of Bramins: thoſe who mix in ſociety are, for the moſt part, very corrupt in their morals; they believe that the water of the Ganges will waſh away all their crimes; and as they are not ſubject to any civil juriſdiction, live without either reſtraint or virtue, excepting that character of compaſſion and charity which is ſo commonly found in the mild climate of India.

THE others who live abſtracted from the world, are either weak minded men or enthuſiaſts, and abandon themſelves to lazineſs, ſuperſtition, and the dream of metaphyſics. We find in their diſputes the very ſame ideas that occur in the writings of our moſt celebrated metaphyſicians, ſuch as, ſubſtance, accident, priority,

BOOK I.

poſteriority, immutability, indiviſibility, the vital and ſenſitive ſoul; but with this difference, that whereas in India theſe fine diſcoveries are very ancient, it is but a very ſhort time ſince father Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Leibnitz, and Mallebranche aſtoniſhed all Europe with their dexterity in raiſing their viſionary ſyſtems. As this abſtracted manner of reaſoning was derived to us from the Greek philoſophers, whoſe refinement we have gone far beyond, it is not improbable that the Greeks themſelves might have borrowed this ridiculous knowledge from the Indians; unleſs we rather chuſe to ſuppoſe, that as the principles of metaphyſics lie open to the capacities of all nations, the indolence of the Bramins may have produced the ſame effect in India, as that of our monks has done in Europe; notwithſtanding the inhabitants of one country had never communicated their doctrines to thoſe of the other.

SUCH are the deſcendants of the ancient Brachmans, whom antiquity never ſpeaks of but with admiration; becauſe the affectation of auſterity and myſtery, and the privilege of declaring the will of heaven have impoſed upon the vulgar in all ages. The Greeks aſcribe the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, to certain notions concerning the nature of the Supreme Being, and future rewards and puniſhments.

To this ſpecies of knowledge which is the more flattering to the curioſity of man in proportion as it tranſcends his weak capacity, the Brachmans added an infinite number of religious obſervances, which were adopted by Pythagoras in his ſchool; ſuch as faſting, prayer, ſilence, and contemplation; virtues of the imagination, which have a more powerful effect upon the vulgar than thoſe of a uſeful and benevolent tendency. The Brachmans were looked upon as the friends of the gods, becauſe they affected to pay them ſo much regard;

gard and as the protectors of mankind, because they paid them no regard at all. No bounds were therefore set to the respect and gratitude that were shown them; princes themselves did not scruple to consult these recluses upon any critical conjuncture, from a supposition, no doubt, that they were inspired, since it was impossible to imagine that they had the advantages of experience. After all, we can hardly deny that there might be among them some men of real virtue, whose minds relished the pure and ingenuous delights of study and science; and who, by nobly raising their thoughts to the contemplation of the first Being, had but the stronger reason to render themselves worthy of his care, and none to justify them in deceiving, and tyrannizing over their fellow-creatures.

The military class consists of the Rajas on the coast of Coromandel, and the Nairs on the coast of Malabar. There are likewise whole nations, the Canar and the Marattas for instance, who assume the profession, either because they are the descendants of some tribes originally devoted to arms, or because times and circumstances have introduced a change in their primitive institutions.

The third class consists entirely of husbandmen, and there are few countries where this set of men have a better title to the gratitude of their fellow-subjects; they are laborious and industrious, perfectly acquainted with the art of distributing their rivulets, and of making the burning soil they inhabit as fertile as possible. They are in India what they would be everywhere else, if not corrupt or oppressed by government, the most honest and virtuous of men. This class which was formerly much respected, was free from tyranny, and the ravages of war; never were the husbandmen obliged to bear arms; their lands and their labours were

BOOK I.

held equally ſacred; they ploughed their fields within view of contending armies. who ſuffered them to purſue their peaceful toil without moleſtation; their corn was never ſet on fire, nor their trees cut down; religion too, that all-powerful principle, lent her aſſiſtance to reaſon, which, though it inculcates indeed, the propriety of protecting uſeful occupations, has not of itſelf ſufficient influence to enforce the execution of its own laws.

The tribe of mechanics was branched out into as many ſubdiviſions as there are trades; no one was allowed to relinquiſh the profeſſion of his parents; for which reaſon induſtry and vaſſalage have ever gone hand in hand, and carried the arts to as high perfection as they can poſſibly attain without the aſſiſtance of taſte and imagination, which ſeldom unfold themſelves but under the kind influences of emulation and liberty.

Besides theſe tribes, there is a fifth, which is the outcaſt of all the reſt; the members of it are employed in the meaneſt offices of ſociety; they bury the dead, carry away dirt, and live upon the fleſh of animals that die natural deaths; they are held in ſuch abhorrence that if any of their ſociety dares to touch any perſon belonging to the other claſſes, he has a right to kill him on the ſpot; they are called Parias.

In Malabar there is another race of men, called Poulichees, who ſuffer ſtill greater injuries and hardſhips; they inhabit the foreſts; where they are not permitted to build huts, but are obliged to make a kind of neſt upon the trees; when they are preſſed with hunger, they howl like wild beaſts to excite the compaſſion of the paſſengers. The moſt charitable among the Indians depoſit ſome rice or other food at the foot of a tree, and retire with all poſſible haſte to give the famiſhed wretch an opportunity of taking it without meeting with his benefactor,

actor, who would think himself polluted by coming near him.

THE Europeans, by living with these unhappy people upon terms of common humanity, at length made themselves almost equally the objects of detestation among the Indians. This detestation prevails even to this day in the inland parts of the country, where the want of intercourse keeps alive those rooted prejudices, which wear off gradually near the sea coasts, where the interests and mutual wants of commerce unite men with each other, and consequently introduce juster notions of human nature.

ALL these classes are for ever separated from each other by unsurmountable barriers; they are not allowed to intermarry, live, or eat together. Whoever transgresses this rule, is banished as a disgrace to his tribe,

BUT when they go in pilgrimage to the temple of Pagrenat, or the Supreme Being, the case is quite altered. At these seasons the Bramins, the Raja or Nair, the husbandman and mechanic carry their offerings, and eat and drink promiscuously; they are there admonished that the distinctions of birth are of human institution, and that all men are brethren and children of the same God.

THOSE religious sentiments, which have given a sanction to this subordination of ranks among the Indians, have not had sufficient influence to prevent them entirely from aspiring to those marks of distinction which are appropriated to the superior classes. That spirit of ambition so natural to mankind, has sometimes exerted itself, and singular expedients have been tried by men jealous of superiority to share with the Bramins the veneration of the multitude; this has given rise to a race of monks known in India by the name of Fakirs.

MEN

BOOK I.

MEN of all the tribes or caſtes are permitted to follow this claſs of life; nothing more is required than to emulate the Bramins in abſtracted contemplation and indolence; but at the ſame time they are obliged to ſurpaſs them in extenſive auſterities, which ſtrike the mildeſt people in the world with religious horror. The appearance of theſe fanatics exceeds imagination; ſome of them wallow in the dirt, others accuſtom themſelves to painful poſtures, extending their arms over their head till they are unable to recover their natural poſition; and a third ſort continue ſtanding ſeven or eight days together, which occaſions prodigious ſwellings in their legs; they all of them enter into an engagement never to waſh their bodies, or comb their hair; and to oppoſe and diſgrace nature, with a view of recommending themſelves to its author. The reſpect paid them by the people is their only recompenſe for theſe ſacrifices, which infinitely exceed all the mortifications practiſed by the European monks; if thoſe may be called mortifications, which are nothing more than ſingular ceremonies practiſed at an early age, when to get rid of ſcruples concerning the gratification of natural and forbidden paſſions, the youthful imagination ardently embraces any ſyſtem of life, however extravagant, provided it has received the public ſanction, and is calculated to adminiſter to their pleaſures.

THOUGH in the ſacred books of the Indians we do not meet with thoſe inſtances of the marvellous, which ſometimes ſtrike ſo forcibly in the Greek theology, their mythology is as irregular as that of almoſt any other people. We do not find, in particular, any connection between their religious principles and the ſeveral claſſes that form the baſis of their government. The ſhaſtah, which is looked upon by ſome as a commentary on the vedam, and by others as an original work, an extract of which,

which, lately publiſhed in England, has thrown ſome light upon this ſubject. This book teaches that the eternal being abſorbed in the contemplation of his own eſſence, formed the reſolution of creating beings, who might partake of his glory. He ſpoke, and angels roſe into exiſtence; they ſang in concert the praiſes of their creator, and harmony reigned in the celeſtial region, when two of theſe ſpirits having revolted, drew a legion after them. The Supreme Being drove them into a place of torment, from whence they were releaſed at the interceſſion of the faithful angels, upon conditions, which at once inſpired them with joy and terror. The rebels were ſentenced, under different forms, to undergo puniſhments in the loweſt of the fifteen planets, in proportion to the enormity of their firſt offence; accordingly each angel underwent eighty ſeven tranſmigrations upon earth, before he animated the body of a cow, which holds the firſt rank among the animal tribes. Theſe different tranſmigrations are conſidered as ſo many ſtages of expiation, preparatory to a ſtate of probation, which commences as ſoon as the angel tranſmigrates from the body of the cow into a human body; in this ſituation the creator enlarges his intellectual faculties, and conſtitutes him a free agent; and his good or bad conduct haſtens or retards the ſeaſon of his pardon. The good are at their death re-united to the Supreme Being, and the wicked begin anew the æra of their expiation.

HENCE it appears, that according to this tradition of the ſhaſtah, the metempſychoſis is an actual puniſhment, and that the ſouls that animate the generality of the brute creation, are nothing more than wicked ſpirits. This explanation is certainly not univerſally adopted in India. It was probably invented by ſome devotee of a melancholy and rigid caſt; as the doctrine of the tranſmigration

BOOK I.

migration of ſouls ſeems originally to have been founded rather on hope than fear.

In fact, it is natural to ſuppoſe that it was only adopted at firſt as an idea that flattered and ſoothed humanity, and would eaſily be embraced in a country where mankind, living under the influence of a delicious climate, and a mild government, began to be ſenſible of the ſhortneſs of life. A ſyſtem which extended life beyond its natural limits could not fail to be well received. It is a conſolation to an old man, who ſees himſelf deſerted by all that is dear to him, to imagine that his enjoyments will ſtill remain, and that his diſſolution only opens a paſſage to another ſcene of exiſtence. At the ſame time, it is equally matter of conſolation to the friends who attend him in his laſt moments, to think, that in leaving the world he does not relinquiſh the hopes of riſing once more into life. Hence was the riſe and progreſs of the doctrine of tranſmigration. Reaſon, diſſatisfied with this illuſion, may urge in vain, that without recollection there can be no continuance or identity of being; and that if a man does not remember that he has exiſted, he is in the ſame ſituation as if he had never exhiſted before:——Sentiment adopted what reaſon diſallowed.

The ſhaſtah, no doubt, has given a greater air of ſeverity to the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, with a view of making it more inſtrumental in ſupporting the ſyſtem of morality it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh. In fact, upon this idea of the tranſmigration conſidered in the light of a puniſhment, they explain the duties which the angels were required to perform. The principal ones were charity, abſtinence from animal food, and a ſcrupulous adherence to the profeſſion of their anceſtors. This laſt-mentioned prejudice, in which all people ſeem to agree, notwithſtanding they differ in their opinions concerning its origin, is without a parallel,

lel, if we except among the ancient Egyptians, whoſe inſtitutions have ſome kind of hiſtorical relation to thoſe of the Indians, which are now unknown to us. But though the Egyptian laws eſtabliſhed a diſtinction of ranks, none were held in contempt; while on the contrary, the laws of Brama, by the introduction, perhaps, of ſome abuſes, ſeem to have condemned one part of the nation to pain and infamy.

THERE is reaſon to believe that the Indians were almoſt as civilized when Brama inſtituted his laws, as they are at preſent. Whenever a community begins to to aſſume a certain form, it naturally divides into ſeveral claſſes, according to the variety and extent of thoſe arts that are neceſſary to ſupply its demands.

IT was doubtleſs the intention of Brama, by confirming theſe different profeſſions by ſanctions of religion, and confining the exerciſe of them perpetually to the ſame families, to give them a laſting eſtabliſhment on political principles; but he did not foreſee that by theſe means he ſhould obſtruct the progreſs of diſcoveries, which, in the end, might give riſe to new occupations. Accordingly, if we may judge by the ſcrupulous attention paid by the Indians at this day to the laws of Brama, we may affirm that induſtry has made no advances among this people, ſince the time of this legiſlator; and that they were almoſt as civilized as they are at preſent, when they firſt received his laws. This remark is ſufficient to give us an idea of the antiquity of theſe people, who have made no improvements in knowledge ſince an æra which ſeems to be the moſt ancient in hiſtory.

BRAMA preſcribed different kinds of food for theſe reſpective tribes. The military, and ſome other ranks, were permitted to eat veniſon and mutton. Fiſh was allowed to ſome huſbandmen, and mechanics. Others lived upon milk and vegetables. None of the Bramins ate any thing that had life. Upon the whole, theſe people

BOOK I.

ple are extremely ſober; but their abſtinence varies in proportion to the greater or leſs labour required in their profeſſions.

THEY marry in their infancy, and their wives maintain a character of fidelity unknown in other countries. Some of the ſuperior ranks are allowed the privilege of having ſeveral wives. It is well known that thoſe of the Bramins burn themſelves on the death of their huſbands, and they ſeem to be the only perſons who are obliged to it by the laws. Others, however, are fond of following their example, led by that point of honour to which ſo many victims are ſacrificed in all countries. This cruel injunction is confined to widows who have no iſſue. Thoſe who have children are expected to take care of their education and ſettlement in the world. Were it not for this precaution, the ſtate, which ought to be the guardian of theſe orphans, would be laden with a very oppreſſive burthen.

SINCE the Moguls became maſters of Indoſtan, theſe horrible ſpectacles have been very much diminiſhed; as it coſts a ſum too conſiderable for any but the rich to obtain a licence for that purpoſe. But this obſtacle has ſometimes made their inclinations the ſtronger. Some women have been known to devote themſelves for ſeveral years to the loweſt and moſt laborious employments, in order to raiſe money to defray the expences of this extravagant ſuicide. Others have been more eagerly ambitious of ſacrificing themſelves, in proportion as ſcenes of this kind became leſs common.

A FEW years ago a young, beautiful, and rich widow, of Surat, aſpired to this high honour. The governor refuſed to grant her permiſſion to conſign herſelf, together with ſo many valuable endowments, to the flames. The lady, full of indignation, took a handful of burning coals, and, ſeemingly regardleſs of the pain, ſaid in a firm tone to the governor, *conſider not alone the tenderneſs*

derneſs of my age; ſee with what inſenſibility I hold this fire in my hands; and know that with equal conſtancy, I ſhall throw myſelf into the flames.

ALL the women, however, are not animated with this enthuſiaſtic intrepidity. Many of them, who were ambitious of devoting themſelves to the manes of their huſbands, have been ſeized with an involuntary tremor when their approaching fate appeared in all its horrors. To encourage them to this great action, ſo contrary to reaſon and nature, a mixture is given them, which, by ſtupifying the ſenſes, removes the apprehenſions, which the preparation for death muſt unavoidably occaſion. The moment the intoxication takes place, theſe unfortunate widows are directly thrown upon the fatal pile; and to this ſtratagem, invented by the advocates for fanaticiſm, are to be attributed thoſe ſeeming ſigns of joy and ſatisfaction, which appear in their countenances at the ſight of thoſe devouring flames that are ready to reduce them to aſhes.

THIS inſtitution is not attributed to Brama, but rather ſeems to be the invention of ſome Bramin, who carried his jealouſy beyond the grave. This piece of refinement, dictated by a barbarous and over-ſtrained affection, is ſuitable to the character of thoſe ſuperſtitious mortals, who think there is an eſſential merit in rigid morality, and what they call a ſuperior purity.

THESE people are of a mild, humane diſpoſition, and are almoſt ſtrangers to the paſſions that prevail among us. What object can ambition have among men who are deſtined to continue always in the ſame ſtate? They love peaceable labour and an indolent life; and often quote this paſſage of one of their favourite authors; *'Tis better to ſit ſtill than to walk; better to ſleep than to awake: But death is beſt of all.*

THEIR

BOOK I. THEIR temperance, and the exceſſive heats of the climate, reſtrain the violence of their paſſions, and prevent them from having a ſtrong deſire for amorous pleaſures. Avarice, which reigns chiefly in people of weak bodies, and little minds, is almoſt their only paſſion.

WE may judge of their ingenuity in arts by the ſpecimens that are brought from India. The execution is difficult, but they are deſtitute of taſte and elegance. The ſciences are ſtill more neglected; nor have they the leaſt notion of mechanics; before they were acquainted with the Mohammedans, no bridges had ever been erected. The Pagodas are in general nothing more than miſerable ſtructures of a ſquare form, admitting no light but at the entrance, which always fronts the eaſt; this defect is ſupplied by tapers, which are kept burning by the pious and devout. It is aſſerted, however, that their great Pagodas are regularly built, and that the ornaments both within and without, are of conſiderable value. The idol is placed in the center of the building ſo that the parties who are not admitted into the temple, may have a ſight of it through the gates. In theſe Pagodas there are ciſterns of water for the purification of the Indians. Theſe ſuperſtitious ceremonies are chiefly obſerved by the people. It is ſaid that there are ſtill ſome of the Bramins who know how to calculate eclipſes; but it is not very eaſy to diſcover whether this is done by means of ſome of their tables derived from their anceſtors; or whether they are actually acquainted with the theory previouſly neceſſary towards the ſolution of ſuch problems.

THE military claſs have choſen to fix their reſidence in the northern provinces, and the Peninſula is chiefly inhabited by the inferior tribes. Hence it has happened, that all the powers who have attacked India by ſea, have

have met with ſo little reſiſtance. It may not be amiſs to remind thoſe philoſophers who maintain that man is a frugivorous animal, that the military people who ſubſiſt upon animal food, are more robuſt, courageous and ſprightly, and live longer than thoſe of the other claſſes who feed upon vegetables; at the ſame time it muſt be owned, that the difference between the inhabitants of the north and ſouth, is of too uniform a caſt to be attributed entirely to the particular kind of nouriſhment; the cold of the north, the elaſticity of the air, leſs fertility and more labour and exerciſe, with a more varied kind of life; all theſe whet the appetite, brace the nerves, raiſe a ſpirit of reſolution and activity, and give a firmer tone to the organs; on the other hand the heats of the ſouth, together with great quantities of fruit, an inactive life, the conſtant perſpiration, a more free and more laviſh uſe of the means conducive to population, more indulgence in effeminate pleaſures, and a ſedentary and uniform courſe of life; while they increaſe the number of births, occaſion a ſpeedier diſſolution. Upon the whole it ſhould ſeem, that though man was not by nature deſigned to conſume the fleſh of animals, he is endued with a power of accommodating himſelf to the various modes of life that prevail in every different climate, and either hunts and lives upon fleſh, or vegetables, or turns ſhepherd or huſbandman according to the fertility or barrenneſs of the ſoil.

The religion of Brama was anciently, and ſtill continues to be, divided into eighty-three ſects, which agree in ſome fundamental points, and have no diſputes about the reſt; they live in amity with men of all perſuaſions as their own does not oblige them to make proſelytes. The Indians ſeldom admit ſtrangers to their worſhip, and always with the greateſt reluctance.

BOOK I.

This was in ſome meaſure the ſpirit of the ancient ſuperſtition; as it appears among the Egyptians, the Jews, the Greeks and the Romans: and though it has occaſioned fewer ravages than the zeal of making converts, it prevents the intercourſes of ſociety, and raiſes an additional barrier between one people and another.

When we conſider how kindly nature has provided for the happineſs of theſe fertile countries, where every want is eaſily ſupplied; and that the compaſſionate temper and morals of the Indians, render them equally averſe to perſecution and the ſpirit of conqueſt, we cannot help lamenting that a barbarous inequality ſhould have diſtinguiſhed one part of the nation by power and privileges, while the reſt of the inhabitants are loaded with miſery and contempt. What can be the cauſe of this ſtrange illuſion? It muſt doubtleſs be traced to that principle which has been the conſtant ſource of all the calamities, that have befallen the inhabitants of this globe.

We need only ſuppoſe that a powerful people, with few lights to direct them, adopt an original error, which ignorance brings into faſhion: as ſoon as this error becomes general, it is made the baſis of an entire ſyſtem of politics and morality: and men begin to find that their innocent propenſities run counter to their duty. In order to conform to this new plan of morality, they muſt perpetually be offering violence to the order of nature. This continual ſtruggle will introduce a moſt amazing contrariety into their manners; and the nation will be compoſed of a ſet of wretches, who will paſs their lives in mutually tormenting each other, and accuſing nature. Such is the picture of all the people upon earth, excepting, perhaps, a few ſocieties of ſavages. Abſurd prejudices have perverted human reaſon, and even ſtifled that inſtinct which teaches animals

mals to reſiſt oppreſſion and tyranny. Multitudes of the human race implicitly ſubmit to be a ſort of vaſſals to a ſmall number of men who oppreſs them.

SUCH is the fatal progreſs of that original error, which impoſture has either produced or kept up in the mind of man. May true knowledge revive thoſe rights of reaſonable beings, which to be recovered, want only to be known! Ye ſages of the earth, philoſophers of every nation, it is yours alone to make laws by pointing them out to your countrymen. Take the glorious reſolution to inſtruct your fellow-creatures: and be aſſured that it is much eaſier to propagate truth than error. Mankind, animated by the deſire of happineſs, to which you will point the way, will liſten to you with attention. Make thoſe millions of hireling ſlaves bluſh, who are always ready, at the command of their maſters, to deſtroy their fellow-citizens. Rouze all the powers of human nature to oppoſe this ſubverſion of ſocial laws. Teach mankind that liberty is the inſtitution of God; authority that of man. Expoſe thoſe myſterious arts which hold the world in chains and darkneſs: and let the people be ſenſible how far their credulity has been impoſed upon, re-aſſuming, with one accord, the uſe of their faculties, vindicate the honour of the human race.

BESIDES the natives, the Portugueſe found Mohammedans in India; ſome of whom came from the borders of Africa. The greateſt part of them were deſcendents of the Arabs, who either ſettled here or made incurſions. They had made themſelves maſters of all the countries as far as the Indus, by the force of arms. The moſt enterprizing among them paſſed this river, and ſucceſſively penetrated into the extremities of the Eaſt. On this immenſe continent they became the factors of Arabia and Egypt, and were treated with diſtinguiſhed reſpect by all the ſovereigns who wiſhed to keep up an

BOOK I.

intercourſe with theſe countries. Here they multiplied to a great degree; for as their religion allowed polygamy, they married in every place where they made any ſtay.

THEIR ſucceſs was ſtill more rapid and laſting in the iſlands that lie ſcattered in this ocean. The want of commerce procured them the beſt reception both from princes and their ſubjects. They ſoon roſe to the higheſt dignities in theſe petty ſtates, and became the arbiters of government. They took advantage of the ſuperiority of their knowledge, and the ſupport they received from their country, to eſtabliſh an univerſal dominion. The deſpots and their vaſſals, in order to ingratiate themſelves with them, abandoned a religion to which they had no great attachment, for new opinions which might procure them ſome advantages. This ſacrifice coſt them the leſs, as the preachers of the Koran made no ſcruple of admitting ancient ſuperſtitions into an alliance with thoſe they wiſhed to eſtabliſh.

THESE Mohammedan Arabs, who were apoſtles and merchants at the ſame time, had already propagated their religion by purchaſing a great number of ſlaves, to whom, after they had been circumciſed and inſtructed in their doctrine, they gave their freedom, but as a certain pride prevented them from mixing their blood with that of theſe freedmen, the latter have in time become a diſtinct people, inhabiting the coaſt of the Indian Peninſula from Goa to Madraſs; they are at preſent known in Malabar by the name of Pooliahs, and by that of Coolies, in Coromandel; they underſtand neither the Perſian, the Arabian, nor the Mooriſh language; and confine themſelves to that of the countries in which they live; the generality are addicted to commerce, and profeſs a ſpecies of Mohammedaniſm extremely corrupted by the Indian ſuperſtitions.

INDOSTAN,

INDOSTAN, which has ſince been almoſt entirely reduced by war under a foreign yoke, was, at the time of the arrival of the Portugueſe, divided between the kings of Cambaya, Delhi, Biſnagar, Narzingua and Calicut, each of which reckoned ſeveral ſovereigns more or leſs powerful, among their tributaries. The laſt of theſe monarchs, who is better known by the name of Zamorin, which anſwers to that of emperor, than by the name of his capital city; poſſeſſed the moſt maritime ſtates, and his empire extended over all Malabar.

THERE is an ancient tradition, that when the Arabs began to eſtabliſh themſelves in the Indies in the eighth century, the king of Malabar took ſo great a fancy to their religion, that he not only embraced it, but determined to end his days at Mecca. Calicut, where he embarked, became a place ſo dear and ſo reſpectable to the Moors, that they were inſenſibly led to make it the conſtant rendezvous of their ſhips. Thus by the ſole effect of this ſuperſtition, this harbour, incommodious and dangerous as it was, became the richeſt ſtaple of theſe countries. Precious ſtones, pearls, amber, ivory, china-ware, gold and ſilver, ſilks and cottons, indigo, ſugar, all kinds of ſpices, valuable woods, perfumes, beautiful varniſh; and whatever conduces to the elegances of life were carried thither from all parts of the eaſt. Some of theſe rich commodities came by ſea; but as navigation was neither ſo ſafe nor ſo briſk as it is now, a great deal was brought by land by buffaloes and elephants.

The Portugueſe eſtabliſh a ſettlement on the coaſt of Malabar.

GAMA, having informed himſelf of theſe particulars, when he touched at Melinda, hired an able pilot to conduct him to that port in which trade was the moſt flouriſhing. Here he fortunately met with a Moor of Tunis, who underſtood the Portugueſe language, and having ſeen with admiration the great atchievements

BOOK I.

of this nation on the coaſts of Barbary, conceived a fondneſs for it which overcame his prejudices. This predilection engaged the Moor to uſe all his intereſt in favour of theſe ſtrangers, who put themſelves entirely under his direction. He procured Gama an audience of the Zamorin, who propoſed an alliance, and a treaty of commerce with the king his maſter. This was upon the point of being concluded, when the Muſſulmen found means to throw a ſuſpicion upon a rival power, whoſe courage, activity and knowledge they dreaded. The reports they made to him of its ambition and reſtleſſneſs, made ſuch an impreſſion on the mind of the prince, that he reſolved to deſtroy thoſe adventurers whom he had juſt received ſo favourably.

GAMA being informed of this change by his faithful guide, ſent his brother on board the fleet, telling him, *If you ſhould hear that I am thrown into priſon, or put to death, I forbid you, as your commander, either to come to my aſſiſtance, or revenge my loſs; ſet ſail immediately, and inform the king of the particulars of our voyage.*

THEY were happily not reduced to theſe extremities. The Zamorin, who wanted neither power nor inclination, wanted courage to put his deſign in execution; and the admiral had leave to rejoin his company. Having made ſome well-timed repriſals, which procured a reſtitution of the merchandiſe he had left a pledge in Calicut, he ſailed for Europe.

IT is impoſſible to deſcribe the joy that prevailed at Liſbon on his return. The inhabitants beheld themſelves on the point of eſtabliſhing the richeſt commerce in the world, and being not only avaritious, but ſuperſtitious at the ſame time, flattered themſelves with the hopes of propagating their religion either by perſuaſion, or by the force of arms. The pope, who let ſlip no opportunity of confirming the opinion that they are the ſove-

reigns

reigns of the earth, gave the Portugueſe all the coaſts they ſhould diſcover in the eaſt, and inſpired this little ſtate with all the folly of conqueſt.

Numbers were eager to embark on board the new fleet that was fitted out for an expedition to the Indies. Thirteen veſſels that ſailed from the Tagus, under the command of Alvarès Cabral, arrived at Calicut, and reſtored ſome of the Zamorin's ſubjects that Gama had carried away with him. Theſe Indians ſpoke highly of the treatment they had received; but it was a long time before the Zamorin was reconciled to the Portugueſe; the Mooriſh party prevailed; and the people of Calicut, ſeduced by their intrigues, maſſacred fifty of the adventurers. Cabral, in revenge, burnt all the Arabian veſſels in the harbour, cannonaded the town, and then ſailed firſt to Cochin and afterwards to Cananor.

The kings of theſe two towns gave him ſpices, offered him gold and ſilver, and propoſed an alliance with him againſt the Zamorin, to whom they were tributaries. The kings of Onor, Gulan, and ſeveral other princes, made the ſame overtures; flattering themſelves that they ſhould all be relieved from the tribute they paid to the Zamorin, extend the frontiers of their ſtates, and ſee their harbours crouded with the ſpoils of Aſia. This generul infatuation procured to the Portugueſe ſo great an aſcendant over the whole country of Malabar, that wherever they appeared they gave the law. No ſovereign was ſuffered to enter into an alliance with them, unleſs he would acknowledge himſelf dependent on the court of Liſbon, give leave that a citadel ſhould be built in his capital, and ſell his merchandiſe at the price fixed by the buyer. The foreign merchant was obliged to wait till the Portuguſe had completed their lading; and no perſon was ſuffered to navigate theſe ſeas without producing paſſports from them. The wars in which they were unavoidably engaged, gave little

BOOK I.

interruption to their trade; with a handful of men they defeated numerous armies; their enemies met with them every where, and always fled before them; and, in a ſhort time, the ſhips of the Moors, of the Zamorin and his dependents, no longer dared to make their appearance.

THE Portugueſe, thus become the conquerors of the Eaſt, were perpetually ſending rich cargoes to their own country, which reſounded with the fame of their exploits. The port of Liſbon gradually became the reſort of all the ſhipping in Europe. It became the grand mart of the merchandiſe of India: for the Portugueſe, who fetched it from the very ſpot, ſold it at a lower rate than the traders of other nations.

TO ſecure and extend theſe advantages, it became neceſſary to call in the aid of reflection to correct and ſtrengthen what had hitherto been the offspring of chance, a ſingular intrepidity, and happy concurrence of circumſtances. They wanted to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of power and commerce, which at the ſame time that it was extenſive enough to take in all objects, ſhould be ſo well connected, that all the parts of the grand ſtructure they meant to raiſe, ſhould mutually ſtrengthen each other. Notwithſtanding the information the court of Liſbon had received from the account tranſmitted from India, and the teſtimony of thoſe who had hitherto been intruſted with the management of her intereſts in that quarter; ſhe wiſely repoſed all her confidence in Alphonſo Albuquerque, the moſt diſcerning of all the Portugueſe who had been in Aſia.

THE new viceroy acquitted himſelf beyond expectation. He found it neceſſary, that Portugal ſhould have an eſtabliſhment which might eaſily be defended, where there was a good harbour and a wholeſome air, and where the Portugueſe might refreſh themſelves, after the fatigues of their paſſage from Europe. With this view, he

he caſt his eyes upon Goa, which he foreſaw would be an important acquiſition to Liſbon.

GOA, which riſes in the form of an amphitheatre, is ſituated near the middle of the coaſt of Malabar, upon an iſland ſeparated from the continent by the two branches of a river which falls into the ſea, at ſome diſtance from the city, forming under its walls one of the fineſt harbours in the world. This iſland is reckoned to be ten leagues in circumference. Within this little ſpot are to be ſeen hills, vallies, woods, canals, ſprings of excellent water, a city magnificently built, market-towns and large villages. Before the entrance into the port, the two peninſulas Salſet and Barda, which equally ſerve the purpoſes of defence and ſhelter. They are guarded by forts lined with artillery, where all ſhips are obliged to ſtop before they come to an anchor in the harbour.

GOA, though not ſo conſiderable at that time as it has been ſince, was looked upon as the moſt advantageous poſt in India. It belonged to the king of the Decan; but Idalcan, who was intruſted with the government of it, had aſſumed an independancy, and endeavoured to extend his power in Malabar. While this uſurper was purſuing his ſchemes on the continent, Albuquerque appeared at the gates of Goa, took the city by ſtorm, and acquired this valuable advantage with very little loſs.

IDALCAN, apprized of the loſs the king had ſuſtained, did not heſitate a moment what meaſures he ſhould take. In conjunction even with the Indians his enemies, who were almoſt as much intereſted in this matter as himſelf, he marched towards the capital, with a degree of expedition never known before in that country. The Portugueſe having no firm footing, and finding themſelves unable to preſerve their conqueſt, re-

BOOK I.

treated to their ſhips, which kept their ſtation in the harbour, and ſent to Cochin for a reinforcement. While they were waiting for it, their proviſions failed. Idalcan offered them a ſupply, giving them to underſtand, *That he choſe to conquer by arms and not by famine.* It was cuſtomary at that time, in the Indian wars, for the armies to ſuffer proviſions to be carried to their enemies. Albuquerque rejected the offer made him, with this reply, *That he would receive no preſents from Idalcan till they were friends.* The ſuccour he hourly expected never arrived.

THIS diſappointment determined him to retreat and to poſtpone the execution of his darling project, to a more favourable opportunity, which preſented itſelf a few months after. Idalcan being obliged to take the field again to preſerve his dominions from abſolute deſtruction, Albuquerque made a ſudden attack upon Goa, which he carried by ſtorm, and fortified himſelf in the place. As the harbour of Calicut was good for nothing, and ceaſed to be frequented by the Arabian veſſels, all its trade and riches were transferred to this city, which became the metropolis of all the Portugueſe ſettlements in India.

THE natives of the country were too weak, too diſpirited, and too much at variance, to put a ſtop to the ſucceſs of this enterprizing nation. Nothing remained to be done but to guard againſt the Egyptians, nor was the leaſt precaution either omitted or neglected.

The manner of carrying on trade in India before the conqueſts of the Portugueſe.

EGYPT, which is conſidered as the parent of all hiſtorical antiquities, the ſource of policy, and the nurſery of arts and ſciences, after having remained for ages in a ſtate of ſeparation from the reſt of the world, who were held in contempt by this wiſe country, underſtood and practiſed navigation. The inhabitants had long neglected the Mediterranean, where they did not certainly

tainly expect any great advantages, and, directed their course towards the Indian ocean, which was the true channel of wealth.

STRUCK with the situation of this country between two seas, one of which opens the road to the east, and the other to the west; Alexander formed the design of fixing the seat of his empire in Egypt, and to make it the centre of trade to the whole world. This prince who had more discernment than any other conqueror, saw that if it were possible to form an union between his present and future acquisitions, he must make choice of a country which nature seems to have placed, as it were, in contact with Africa and Asia to connect them with Europe. The premature death of the greatest captain that history and fable have held forth to the admiration of mankind, would for ever have annihilated these vast projects, had they not been in part pursued by Ptolemy, one of his lieutenants; who, when the most magnificent spoil ever known came to be divided, claimed Egypt for his share.

IN the reign of this new sovereign and his immediate successors, commerce made prodigious improvements. Alexandria was the mart of the merchandise that came from India, by the Red Sea, to the port of Berenice.

A WRITER, who has entered deeply into this subject, and whose accounts we follow, tells us, that some of the numerous vessels that were built in consequence of these connections, traded only in the gulph with Arabians and Abyssinians: among others, which ventured out into the main ocean, some of them sailed southward to the right along the eastern coasts of Africa, as far as the island of Madagascar; others, steered to the left towards the Persian Gulph, went even as far as the Euphrates, to trade with the people on its banks, particularly

BOOK I.

cularly with the Greeks, whom Alexander had brought there with him in his expeditions. Others, ſtill grown more enterprizing from the hopes of gain, penetrated as far as the mouths of the Indus, traverſed the coaſt of Malabar, and touched at the iſland of Ceylon, known by the ancients under the name of Taprobane. A very ſmall number paſſed through the Coromandel to go up the river Ganges, as far as Palybotra, a town the moſt celebrated in India on account of its riches. Thus, induſtry proceeded by gradual advances, from one river or coaſt to another, to appropriate the productions of thoſe countries that abound moſt in fruits, flowers, perfumes, precious ſtones, and all the delicacies of voluptuous luxury.

THE boats they made uſe of in theſe expeditions were long and flat, not unlike thoſe that are ſeen upon the Nile. Before the invention of the compaſs, in conſequence of which, larger veſſels, carrying more ſail, were fitted out for the main ocean; they were obliged to row cloſe to the ſhore, and to follow the windings of the coaſt from one point of land to another. They were obliged to make the ſides of their ſhips leſs, in order to weaken the power of the wind over them, and leſs deep, for fear of ſtriking againſt rocks, ſands, or ſhallows. Thus a voyage not ſo long by the one third as thoſe which are now performed in leſs than ſix months, ſometimes laſted five years or more. What their veſſels wanted in ſize, was ſupplied by their numbers; and the diſadvantages of their ſlow ſailing were compenſated by the frequent ſquadrons they fitted out.

THE Egyptians exported to India, as has been done ever ſince, woollen manufactures, iron, lead, copper, ſome ſmall pieces of workmanſhip in glaſs, and ſilver in exchange

exchange for ivory, ebony, tortoiſe-ſhell, white and printed linens, ſilks, pearls, precious ſtones, cinnamon, ſpices, and particularly frankincenſe; which was a perfume the moſt in eſteem, on account of its being uſed in divine worſhip, and contributing to the gratification of princes. It ſold at ſo high a price, that the merchants counterfeited it under pretence of improving it. So apprehenſive is avarice of being defrauded by poverty, that the workmen who were employed in making it were naked; having only a girdle about their loins, the ends of which were ſealed by the director of the manufacture.

All the ſea-faring and trading nations in the Mediterranean came to the ports of Egypt to purchaſe the produce of India. When Carthage and Corinth became the victims of the vices introduced by their oppulence, the Egyptians were themſelves obliged to export the riches with which theſe cities formerly loaded their own veſſels. As their maritime power increaſed, they extended their navigation as far as Cadiz. They could ſcarcely ſupply the demands of Rome, whoſe luxury kept pace with its conqueſts: at the ſame time that they were arrived at ſuch a pitch of extravagance themſelves, that the accounts given of it have the air of romance. Cleopatra, with whom their empire and hiſtory expired, was profuſe as ſhe was voluptuous. But notwithſtanding theſe incredible expences, the advantages they derived from the trade of the Indies were ſo great, that after they were ſubdued and ſpoiled, lands, proviſions, and merchandiſe, fetched double the price at Rome. If Pliny may be credited, the conqueror, by reinſtating the conquered in this ſource of opulence, which was calculated rather to flatter their vanity than to aggrandize their power, gained twenty

BOOK I.

twenty thouſand per cent. Though it is eaſy to ſee that this calculation is exaggerated, we may from thence form a conjecture what profits muſt have been reaped in thoſe diſtant ages, when the Indians were not ſo well acquainted with their own intereſt.

WHILE the Romans had virtue enough to preſerve the power acquired by their anceſtors, Egypt very much contributed to ſupport the dignity of the empire by the riches it brought thither from the Indies. But the fulneſs of luxury, like the corpulency of the body, is a ſymptom of an approaching decay. This vaſt empire, ſunk under its own weight, and like leavers of wood or metal, whoſe exceſſive length contributes to their weakneſs, broke into two parts.

EGYPT was annexed to the eaſtern empire, which laſted longer than that of the weſt; not being attacked ſo ſoon, or with ſo much vigour. If riches could have ſupplied the place of courage, its ſituation and reſources would even have made it invincible. But the inhabitants of this empire had nothing but ſtratagem to defend it againſt an enemy, who, beſides the enthuſiaſm of a new religion, were animated with all the ſtrength of an uncivilized people. A torrent thus increaſing, as it deſtroyed every thing in its paſſage, was not to be ſtopped by ſo ſlight a barrier. In the ſeveral provinces, and Egypt amongſt the reſt; which having been one of the principal empires of antiquity, and the model of all modern monarchies, was deſtined to ſink into a ſtate of languor and inſignificancy, in which it remains to this day.

THE Greeks comforted themſelves under this misfortune, on finding that the wars of the Saracens had diverted the ſtream of the Indian commerce from Alexandria to Conſtantinople, by two well-known channels; one of theſe was, the Euxine or Black Sea, where it

was

was uſual to embark to go up the Phaſis. Large veſſels were at firſt employed, and afterwards ſmaller ones were introduced, which ſailed as far as Serapana; from whence, in four or five days, the merchants conveyed their commodities by land-carriage to the river Cyrus, which falls into the Caſpian Sea. Having croſſed this tempeſtuous ocean, they arrived at the mouth of the Oxus, which extended almoſt as far as the ſource of the Indus, and from whence they returned the ſame way, laden with the treaſures of Aſia. This was one of the means of communication between this continent, always naturally rich and that of Europe, which was then poor, and ruined by its own inhabitants.

THE other channel of communication was more eaſy. The Indian veſſels, ſailing from different coaſts, paſſed the Perſian gulph, and arrived at the banks of the Euphrates, where they unloaded their cargo; which, from this river, was in one day ſent by land-carriage to Palmyra. This city, the ruins of which ſtill preſerve an idea of its opulence, tranſported this merchandiſe through the deſarts to the confines of Syria. By this rich commerce, it became more flouriſhing than could have been expected from its ſandy ſituation. Since its deſtruction, the caravans, after ſome changes, conſtantly took the road of Aleppo, which, by means of the port of Alexandretta, turned the current of wealth to Conſtantinople, which at length became the general market of the productions of India.

THIS advantage might alone have retarded the fall of the empire, and, perhaps. have reſtored it to its ancient grandeur; but that had been acquired by its arms, its virtues, and its frugal manners: and it was now deſtitute of all thoſe means of maintaining its proſperity. The Greeks, corrupted by the prodigious acceſſion of wealth, which their excluſive commerce poured in

BOOK I.

in upon them, almoſt without any care or activity of their own, abandoned themſelves to an indolent and effeminate way of life, which infallibly leads to luxury; fond only of the trivial amuſements of glittering ſhows, and the voluptuous refinements of art; of futile, obſcure, and ſophiſtical diſquiſitions on matters of taſte, ſentiment, and even religion and politics. They ſuffered themſelves to be oppreſſed, without aſſerting their right to be governed, and either made their court to a ſucceſſive race of tyrants, by the moſt abject adulation, or irritated them by a faint reſiſtance. Theſe people were bought by the Emperor, and ſold to all the monopolizers who aimed to enrich themſelves by the ruin of the ſtate. The government, ſtill more corrupted than its ſubjects, ſuffered its navy to decay, and placed its whole dependance on the treaties it entered into with the ſtrangers, whoſe ſhips frequented its ports. The Italians had inſenſibly engroſſed the article of tranſportation, which the Greeks had for a long time kept in their own hands. This branch of buſineſs, which is rather laborious than profitable, was doubly uſeful to a trading nation, whoſe chief riches conſiſt in maintaining their vigour by labour. Inactivity haſtened the deſtruction of Conſtantinople, which was preſſed and ſurrounded on all ſides by the conqueſts of the Turks. The Genoeſe fell into the net, which their perfidy and avarice had woven for them. Mohammed the Second drove them from Caffa, to which place they had, of late years, drawn the greateſt part of the Aſiatic trade.

THE Venetians did not wait for this event to give them an opportunity of reviving their connections with Egypt. They had experienced more indulgence than they expected from a government eſtabliſhed ſince the laſt

laſt cruſade, and nearly reſembling that of Algiers. The Mammelucs, who at the time of theſe wars had taken poſſeſſion of a throne they had hitherto ſupported, were for the moſt part ſlaves, who were brought from Circaſſia in their infancy, and trained up early to a military life. The ſupreme authority was veſted in a chief, and a council compoſed of four and twenty principal perſons. This military corps, which eaſe would unavoidably have enervated, was recruited every year by a croud of brave adventurers, who flocked from all parts, with a view of making their fortune. Theſe needy people were prevailed upon, by a ſum of money and promiſes, to conſent that their country ſhould be made the mart of Indian merchandiſe. Thus they were bribed into a meaſure, which the political intereſt of their ſtate always required them to adopt. The inhabitants of Piſa and Florence, the Catalans, and the Genoeſe, received ſome benefit from this change; but it was of ſignal advantage to the Venetians, by whoſe management it was effected. Things were in this ſituation when the Portugueſe made their appearance in the Indies.

THIS great event, and the conſequences that immediately followed it, occaſioned much uneaſineſs at Venice. This Republic, ſo celebrated for its wiſdom, had lately been diſconcerted by a league which it could not oppoſe, and certainly did not foreſee. Several princes of different intereſts, who were rivals in power, and had pretenſions of an oppoſite nature, united, in defiance of all the rules of juſtice and policy, to deſtroy a ſtate which had not given any of them the leaſt umbrage: and even Lewis the XIIth. whoſe intereſt was moſt concerned in the preſervation of Venice, brought it to the brink of ruin by the victory of Argnadel. The

BOOK I.

in upon them, almoſt without any care or activity of their own, abandoned themſelves to an indolent and effeminate way of life, which infallibly leads to luxury; fond only of the trivial amuſements of glittering ſhows, and the voluptuous refinements of art; of futile, obſcure, and ſophiſtical diſquiſitions on matters of taſte, ſentiment, and even religion and politics. They ſuffered themſelves to be oppreſſed, without aſſerting their right to be governed, and either made their court to a ſucceſſive race of tyrants, by the moſt abject adulation, or irritated them by a faint reſiſtance. Theſe people were bought by the Emperor, and ſold to all the monopolizers who aimed to enrich themſelves by the ruin of the ſtate. The government, ſtill more corrupted than its ſubjects, ſuffered its navy to decay, and placed its whole dependance on the treaties it entered into with the ſtrangers, whoſe ſhips frequented its ports. The Italians had inſenſibly engroſſed the article of tranſportation, which the Greeks had for a long time kept in their own hands. This branch of buſineſs, which is rather laborious than profitable, was doubly uſeful to a trading nation, whoſe chief riches conſiſt in maintaining their vigour by labour. Inactivity haſtened the deſtruction of Conſtantinople, which was preſſed and ſurrounded on all ſides by the conqueſts of the Turks. The Genoeſe fell into the net, which their perfidy and avarice had woven for them. Mohammed the Second drove them from Caffa, to which place they had, of late years, drawn the greateſt part of the Aſiatic trade.

THE Venetians did not wait for this event to give them an opportunity of reviving their connections with Egypt. They had experienced more indulgence than they expected from a government eſtabliſhed ſince the laſt

laſt cruſade, and nearly reſembling that of Algiers. The Mammelucs, who at the time of theſe wars had taken poſſeſſion of a throne they had hitherto ſupported, were for the moſt part ſlaves, who were brought from Circaſſia in their infancy, and trained up early to a military life. The ſupreme authority was veſted in a chief, and a council compoſed of four and twenty principal perſons. This military corps, which eaſe would unavoidably have enervated, was recruited every year by a croud of brave adventurers, who flocked from all parts, with a view of making their fortune. Theſe needy people were prevailed upon, by a ſum of money and promiſes, to conſent that their country ſhould be made the mart of Indian merchandiſe. Thus they were bribed into a meaſure, which the political intereſt of their ſtate always required them to adopt. The inhabitants of Piſa and Florence, the Catalans, and the Genoeſe, received ſome benefit from this change; but it was of ſignal advantage to the Venetians, by whoſe management it was effected. Things were in this ſituation when the Portugueſe made their appearance in the Indies.

This great event, and the conſequences that immediately followed it, occaſioned much uneaſineſs at Venice. This Republic, ſo celebrated for its wiſdom, had lately been diſconcerted by a league which it could not oppoſe, and certainly did not foreſee. Several princes of different intereſts, who were rivals in power, and had pretenſions of an oppoſite nature, united, in defiance of all the rules of juſtice and policy, to deſtroy a ſtate which had not given any of them the leaſt umbrage: and even Lewis the XIIth. whoſe intereſt was moſt concerned in the preſervation of Venice, brought it to the brink of ruin by the victory of Argnadel. The

BOOK I.

quarrels which must necessarily arise among such allies, joined to the prudence of the Republic, saved it from this danger, which though more imminent in appearance, was, in fact, not so great nor so immediate as that they were now exposed to, by the discovery of a passage to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope.

VENICE soon perceived that their commerce, and consequently their power, was on the point of being transferred to the Portuguese. Every expedient was tried that an able administration could suggest. Some of the skilful emissaries, which the state took care to retain and employ dexterously in all places, persuaded the Arabs settled in their country, and those that were dispersed over India, or the eastern coasts of Africa, that as their interest was equally concerned with that of Venice, they ought to unite with her against a nation, which had made itself mistress of the common source of their riches.

THE rumour of this league reached the Soudan of Egypt, whose attention was already awakened by the misfortunes he felt, as well as those he foresaw. The customs, which constituted a principal branch of his revenue, and by which five per cent. was levied on the importation, and ten on the exportation of Indian goods, began to bring in little or nothing. The frequent bankruptcies, which were the necessary consequence of the embarrassment of affairs exasperated men's minds against the government, which is always responsible to the people for the calamities they endure. The militia, which was ill paid, fearing that their pay would be still more precarious, raised mutinies, which are more to be dreaded on the decline of a state, than in the time of its prosperity. Egypt was equally a sufferer by the trade

carried

carried on by the Portugueſe, and by the obſtructions their own was expoſed to by their encroachments.

THE Egyptians might have extricated themſelves from theſe inconveniencies by fitting out a fleet; but the Red Sea afforded no materials for the building ſhips. The Venetians removed this obſtacle by ſending wood, and other materials, to Alexandria. They were conveyed by the Nile to Cairo, from whence they were carried by camels to Suez. From this celebrated port, in the year 1508, four large veſſels, one galleon, two gallies, and three galliots, ſailed to India.

The Portugueſe make themſelves maſters of the Red Sea.

THE Portugueſe, who foreſaw this confederacy, had the preceding year laid a ſcheme to prevent it, by making themſelves maſters of the Red Sea; ſecure, that with this advantage, they ſhould have nothing to fear from this connection, nor from the combined forces of Egypt and Arabia. With this view, they formed a plan to ſeize upon the iſland of Socotora, well known to the ancients by the name of Dioſcorides, on account of the abundance and excellence of its aloes. It lies in the gulph of the Red Sea, a hundred and eighty leagues from the ſtraits of Babelmandel formed by the Cape of Guardafui on the African ſide, and by the Cape of Fartack on the ſide of Arabia.

TRISTAN d'Acugna ſailed from Portugal with a conſiderable armament to attack this iſland. Upon his landing, he was encountered by Ibrahim, ſon of the king of the people of Fartack, who was ſovereign of part of Arabia and Socotora. This young prince was killed in the engagement; the Portugueſe beſieged the only town that was in the iſland, and carried it by ſtorm, though it was defended to the laſt extremity by a garriſon ſuperior in number to their ſmall army. The ſoldiers that compoſed this garriſon determined not to ſurvive

BOOK I.

vive the ſon of their ſovereign, refuſed to capitulate, and were all, to the laſt man, put to the ſword. D'Acugna's troops, by their intrepidity, proved an over-match for their bravery.

This ſucceſsful enterpriſe was not attended with the advantages that were expected from it. It was found that the iſland was barren, that it had no port, and that the ſhips that came from the Red Sea never touched there, though they could not enter the gulph without taking an obſervation of it. Accordingly, the Egyptian fleet found a ſafe paſſage into the Indian ocean, where it joined that of Cambaya. Theſe united armaments had the advantage of the Portugueſe, who were conſiderably weakened by the great number of veſſels they had lately fitted out to carry merchandiſe to Europe. This triumph, however, did not laſt long; the conquered party got reinforcements, and regained their ſuperiority which they ever after preſerved. The armaments, which continued to come from Egypt, were always beaten and diſperſed by the ſmall Portugueſe ſquadrons that cruized at the entrance of the gulph.

As, however, theſe ſkirmiſhes kept up a conſtant alarm, and occaſioned ſome expence, Albuquerque thought it incumbent on him to put an end to them by the deſtruction of Suez. But a thouſand obſtacles oppoſed the execution of this project.

The Red Sea, which takes its name, from the corals, chadrepores, and marine plants, which line its bottom, almoſt throughout, or perhaps, only from the ſand which diſcolours its waters, is ſurrounded on one ſide by Arabia, and on the other by Upper Ethiopia and Egypt. It meaſures ſix hundred and eighty leagues from the iſland of Socotora to the famous Iſthmus, which unites Africa to Aſia. As its length is very conſiderable, and its breadth ſmall, and no river falls into it of ſufficient force

force to counteract the influence of the tide, it is more affected by the motions of the great ocean, than any of the inland ſeas nearly in the ſame latitude. It is not much expoſed to tempeſts; the winds uſually blow from the north and ſouth, and being periodical like the monſoons in India, invariably determine the ſeaſon of ſailing into, or out of this ſea. It may be divided into three parts; the middle diviſion is open and navigable at all times, its depth being from twenty-five to ſixty fathoms. The other two, which lie nearer the land, though they abound in rocks, are more frequented by the neighbouring nations, who being obliged to keep cloſe to the ſhore on account of the ſmallneſs of their veſſels, never launch out into the principal channel, unleſs they expect a ſquall of wind. The difficulty, not to ſay impoſſibility, of landing in the harbours on this coaſt, makes the navigation dangerous for veſſels of large burthens, not to mention the great number of deſert iſlands they meet with in their paſſage, which are barren, and afford no freſh water.

ALBUQUERQUE, notwithſtanding his abilities, experience, and reſolution, could not ſurmount ſo many obſtacles. After entering a conſiderable way into the Red Sea, he was obliged to return with his fleet, which had ſuffered perpetual hardſhips, and been expoſed to the greateſt dangers. He was prompted by a reſtleſs and cruel ſpirit of enterprize, to employ methods for the accompliſhment of his deſigns, which though of a ſtill bolder caſt, he thought could not fail of ſucceſs. He wanted to prevail with the emperor of Ethiopia, who ſolicited the protection of Portugal to turn the courſe of the Nile ſo as to open a paſſage for him into the Red Sea. Egypt would then have become in a great meaſure uninhabitable, or at leaſt unfit for commerce. In the mean time he propoſed to tranſport into Arabia, by

BOOK I.

the gulph of Perſia, three or four hundred horſe which he thought would be ſufficient to plunder Medina and Mecca. He imagined that by ſo bold an expedition, he ſhould ſtrike terror into the Mohammedans, and put a ſtop to that prodigious concourſe of pilgrims which was the main ſupport of a trade he wanted totally to extirpate.

OTHER enterprizes of a leſs hazardous nature, and attended with more immediate advantage, led him to poſtpone the ruin of a power, whoſe influence as a rival, was the only circumſtance neceſſary to be guarded againſt at the preſent juncture. The conqueſt of Egypt by the Turks, a few years after, made it requiſite to act with the greateſt precaution. Thoſe men of genius, who were qualified to purſue the ſeries of events, which had preceded and followed the diſcovery of the paſſage by the Cape of Good Hope, and to form deep conjectures concerning the revolutions which this new track of navigation muſt neceſſarily prevent, could not help conſidering this remarkable tranſaction as the moſt important æra in the hiſtory of the world.

EUROPE began to recover its ſtrength by ſlow degrees, and to ſhake off the yoke of ſlavery, which had diſgraced its inhabitants from the time of the Roman Conqueſts down to the inſtitution of the feudal laws. Innumerable tyrants, who kept multitudes in a ſtate of oppreſſion and ſlavery, had been ruined by the folly of the cruſades. To defray the expences of theſe wild expeditions, they were obliged to ſell their lands and caſtles, and for a pecuniary conſideration, to allow their vaſſals ſome privileges, which at length almoſt re-inſtated them in the order of human beings. From that time, the right of property began to be introduced among private perſons, and gave them that kind of independence, without which property itſelf is a mere illuſion.

Thus

Thus the firſt dawnings of liberty in Europe were, however unexpectedly, owing to the cruſades; and the rage of conqueſt for once contributed to the welfare of mankind.

If Vaſco de Gama had not made theſe diſcoveries, the ſpirit of liberty would have been again extinguiſhed, and probably without hopes of a revival. The Turks had lately expelled thoſe ſavage nations, who, pouring from the extremities of the globe, had driven out the Romans, to become like them, the ſcourge of human kind; and our barbarous inſtitutions would have been followed by oppreſſions ſtill more intolerable. This muſt inevitably have been the caſe, if the ſavage conquerors of Egypt, had not been repulſed by the Portugueſe in their ſeveral expeditions to India. Their poſſeſſion of the riches of Aſia, would have ſecured their claim to thoſe of Europe. As the trade of the whole world was in their hands, they muſt conſequently have had the greateſt maritime force that ever was known. What oppoſition could our continent then have made to the progreſs of a people whoſe religion and policy equally animated them to conqueſt?

Dissentions prevailed in England on account of its liberties; France contended for the intereſts of its ſovereigns; Germany for thoſe of its religion; and Italy was employed in adjuſting the mutual claims of a tyrant and an impoſtor. Europe, over-run with fanatics and armies, reſembled a ſick perſon, who falling into a delirium, in the tranſport of madneſs opens his veins till he faints with loſs of blood and ſpirits. In this ſtate of weakneſs and anarchy, it was ill prepared to reſiſt the incurſions of the Turks.

As the calm which ſucceeds the violence of civil wars makes a nation formidable to its neighbours; ſo the diſſentions which divide it as certainly expoſe it to ravage

BOOK I.

and oppreſſion. The depraved morals of the clergy would likewiſe have favoured the introduction of a new worſhip; and we ſhould have been condemned to a ſtate of ſlavery without any hopes of releaſe. In truth, there is not one among all the religious ſyſtems that oppreſs mankind, allows ſo little ſcope to liberty as that of the Muſſulmans. Throughout almoſt all Europe, a religion foreign to government, and introduced without its patronage; rules of morality diſperſed without order or preciſion in obſcure writings, capable of an endleſs variety of interpretations; authority engroſſed by prieſts and princes, who are perpetually conteſting their right to rule over their fellow-creatures; political and civil inſtitutions daily formed in contradiction to the prevailing religion which condemns an inequality of rank and ambition; a turbulent and enterprizing adminiſtration, which, in order to tyrannize with a higher hand, is perpetually ſetting one part of the ſtate at variance with the other. All theſe principles of diſcord muſt neceſſarily keep the minds of men in conſtant agitation. Is it ſurprizing that on the view of this tumultuous ſcene, nature ſhould ſtart from her entrancement, and earneſtly aſk, "Whether man was born free?"

But when men once become ſlaves to a religion which conſecrates tyranny by uniting the throne with the altar; which ſeems to check the ſallies of ambition by encouraging voluptuouſneſs, and cheriſhes a ſpirit of indolence by forbidding the exerciſe of the underſtanding: there is no reaſon to hope for any conſiderable revolutions. Thus the Turks, who frequently ſtrangle their maſter, have never entertained a thought of changing their government. This is an idea beyond the reach of minds enervated and corrupted like theirs. Hence it appears that the whole world would have loſt its liberty, had not the moſt ſuperſtitious, and, perhaps, the

the moſt enſlaved nation in Chriſtendom, checked the progreſs of the Mohammedan fanaticiſm, and put a ſtop to the career of victories, by depriving them of thoſe ſources of wealth which were neceſſary to the ſucceſs of their enterprizes. Albuquerque went ſtill further; not content with having taken effectual meaſures to prevent any veſſel from paſſing from the Arabian ſea to the Indian ocean, he attempted to get the command of the Perſian gulph.

The Portugueſe make themſelves maſters of the Perſian gulph.

At the mouth of the ſtrait of Mocandon, which leads into the Perſian gulph, lies the iſland of Gombroon. In the eleventh century an Arabian conqueror built upon this barren rock the city of Ormus, which afterwards became the capital of an empire, comprehending a conſiderable part of Arabia on one ſide, and of Perſia on the other. Ormus had two good harbours, and was large and well fortified; its riches and ſtrength were entirely owing to its ſituation. It was the center of trade between Perſia and the Indies, which was very conſiderable, if we remember that the Perſians at that time cauſed the greateſt part of the merchandiſe of Aſia to be conveyed to Europe from the ports of Syria and Caffa. At the time of the arrival of the foreign merchants, Ormus afforded a more ſplendid and agreeable ſcene than any city in the eaſt. Perſons from all parts of the globe exchanged their commodities, and tranſacted their buſineſs, with an air of politeneſs and attention, which are ſeldom ſeen in other places of trade.

These manners were introduced by the merchants belonging to the port, who engaged foreigners to imitate their affability. Their addreſs, the regularity of their police, and the variety of entertainments which their city afforded, joined to the intereſts of commerce, invited merchants to make it a place of reſort. The pavement of the ſtreets was covered with matts, and in ſome

BOOK I.

ſome places with carpets; and the linen awnings which were ſuſpended from the tops of the houſes prevented any inconvenience from the heat of the ſun. Indian cabinets ornamented with gilded vaſes, or china filled with flowering ſhrubs, or aromatic plants, adorned their apartments. Camels laden with water were ſtationed in the public ſquares; Perſian wines, perfumes, and all the delicacies of the table were furniſhed in the greateſt abundance, and they had the muſic of the eaſt in its higheſt perfection. Ormus was crouded with beautiful women from all parts of Aſia, who were inſtructed from their infancy in all the arts of varying and heightening the pleaſures of voluptuous love. In ſhort, univerſal opulence, an extenſive commerce, a refined luxury, politeneſs in the men, and gallantry in the women, united all their attractions to make this city the ſeat of pleaſure.

ALBUQUERQUE, on his arrival in the Indies, began to ravage the coaſts, and to plunder the towns that belonged to the juriſdiction of Ormus; though theſe inroads, which ſhewed more of the robber than of the conqueror, were naturally repugnant to Albuquerque's character; he thought himſelf obliged to have reſource to theſe harſh expedients, to induce a power he was not in a condition to ſubdue by force, to ſubmit voluntarily to the yoke he wanted to impoſe. As ſoon as he imagined the alarm had ſpread ſufficiently to favour his deſigns, he appeared before the capital, and ſummoned the king to acknowledge himſelf tributary to Portugal, as he was to Perſia. This propoſal was received in the manner it deſerved. A fleet compoſed of ſhips from Ormus, Arabia and Perſia, came to an engagement with Albuquerque's ſquadron, who with five veſſels deſtroyed the whole armament. The king, diſheartened by his ill ſucceſs, conſented that the conqueror ſhould erect a fort

a fort which might command the city and both its harbours.

ALBUQUERQUE, who knew the importance of ſeizing the preſent conjuncture, carried on the work with the utmoſt expedition. He laboured as hard as the meaneſt of his followers; but this ſpirit of activity could not prevent the enemy from taking notice of the ſmallneſs of his numbers. Atar, who in conſequence of the revolutions ſo frequent in the eaſt, had been raiſed from the condition of a ſlave, to that of a prime miniſter, was aſhamed of having ſacrificed the ſtate to a handful of adventurers. As his talent lay rather in the arts of policy than of war, he determined to repair the ill conſequences of his timidity by ſtratagem. By the arts of inſinuation and bribery, he ſucceeded ſo far in ſowing diſſentions among the Portugueſe, and prejudicing them againſt their leader, that they were frequently ready to take arms againſt each other. This animoſity, which increaſed every day, determined them to reimbark at the inſtant they were informed that a plot was concerted to maſſacre them. Albuquerque, whoſe ſpirit roſe ſuperior to oppoſition and diſcontent, reſolved to ſtarve the place and deprive it of ſuccours by cutting off all communication. It muſt certainly have fallen into his hands, had not three of his captains ſhamefully abandoned him, and gone off with their ſhips. To juſtify their deſertion, they were guilty of ſtill blacker perfidy, in accuſing their general of the moſt atrocious crimes.

THIS treachery obliged Albuquerque to defer the execution of his deſign for ſome time, till he had all the national troops at his command. As ſoon as he was appointed viceroy, he appeared before Ormus with ſo ſtrong an armament, that a debauched court, and an effeminate people, finding it in vain to make any reſiſtance, were obliged to ſubmit. The ſovereign of Perſia had

BOOK I.

had the confidence to demand tribute of the conqueror. Albuquerque ordered ſome bullets, grenades, and ſabres to be produced to the envoy, telling him, that this was the kind of tribute paid by the king of Portugal.

AFTER this expedition, the power of the Portugueſe was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in the Arabian and Perſian gulphs, and on the Malabar coaſt, that they began to think of extending their conqueſts into the eaſtern parts of Aſia.

The Portugueſe form a ſettlement at Ceylon.

ALBUQUERQUE'S firſt attempt was the iſland of Ceylon, which is eighty leagues long, and thirty at its greateſt breadth. It was anciently known by the name of Taprobane. We have no accounts tranſmitted to us of the revolutions it has undergone. All that hiſtory relates worthy of remark is, that the laws were formerly held in ſo high eſteem, that the monarch was under the ſame obligation of obſerving them as the meaneſt of his ſubjects. If he violated them, he was condemned to death; with this mark of diſtinction however, that he did not ſuffer in an ignominious manner. He was denied all intercourſe, all the comforts and ſupports of life: and, in this kind of excommunication, miſerably ended his days.

WHEN the Portugueſe landed in Ceylon they found it well peopled, and inhabited by two nations who differed from each other in their manners, their government, and their religion. The Bedas, who were ſettled in the northern parts of the iſland, where the country was leſs fertile, were diſtinguiſhed into tribes, which conſidered themſelves as ſo many families headed by a chief, whoſe power was not abſolute. They go almoſt naked, and, upon the whole, their manners and government are the ſame with that of the Highlanders in Scotland. Theſe tribes, who unite for the common defence, have always bravely fought for their liberty, and have never

never invaded thoſe of their neighbours. Their religion is little known, and it is uncertain whether they have any worſhip. They have little intercourſe with ſtrangers, keep a watchful eye over thoſe who travel through the diſtrict they inhabit; they treat them well, and ſend them away as ſoon as poſſible. This caution is owing in part to the jealouſy the Bedas entertain of their wives, which contributes to eſtrange them from all the world. They ſeem to be the firſt inhabitants of the iſland.

THE ſouthern part is poſſeſſed by a more numerous and powerful people, called Cinglaſſes. This nation is polite in compariſon of the other. They wear clothes, and live under an arbitrary government. They have a diſtinction of caſtes, as well as the Indians; but their religion is different. They acknowledge one ſupreme being, and in ſubordination to him, divinities of the ſecond and third order: all which have their prieſts. Among the deities of the ſecond order, particularly honours are paid to Buddou, who deſcended upon earth to take upon himſelf the office of mediator between God and mankind. The prieſts of Buddou are perſons of great conſequence in Ceylon. They are never puniſhable by the prince, even for an attempt againſt his life. The Cinglaſſes underſtand the art of war. They know how to take advantage of the natural ſecurity their mountains afford them againſt the attacks of the Europeans, whom they have often conquered. Like all people in arbitrary ſtates, they are deceitful, ſelfiſh, and full of compliment. They have two languages: one peculiar to the people, the other to the learned. Wherever this cuſtom prevails, it furniſhes prieſts and princes with a further opportunity of impoſing upon mankind.

BOTH theſe nations enjoyed the benefits of the fruits, the corn, and the paſture which abounded in the iſland. They

BOOK I.

They had elephants without number; precious ſtones, and the only kind of cinnamon that was ever eſteemed. On the northern coaſt, and on the fiſhing coaſt which borders upon it, was carried on the greateſt pearl fiſhery in the eaſt. The harbours of Ceylon were the beſt in India, and its ſituation was ſuperior to all its other advantages.

It ſhould ſeem to have been the intereſt of the Portugueſe to have placed all their ſtrength in this iſland. It lies in the center of the eaſt: and is the paſſage that leads to the richeſt countries. All the ſhips that come from Europe, Arabia and Perſia, cannot avoid paying a kind of homage to Ceylon; and the monſoons, which alternately blow from different points, make it eaſy for veſſels to come in and go out at all ſeaſons of the year. It might have been well peopled and fortified with little expence of blood and treaſure. The numerous ſquadrons that might have been ſent out from every port in the iſland would have kept all Aſia in awe: and the ſhips that might cruize in thoſe latitudes, would have intercepted the trade of other nations.

The viceroy overlooked theſe advantages. He alſo neglected the coaſt of Coromandel, though richer than that of Malabar. The merchandiſe of the latter was of an inferior quality: it produced plenty of proviſions, a ſmall quantity of bad cinnamon, ſome pepper and cardamom, a kind of ſpice much uſed by the eaſtern people. The coaſt of Coromandel furniſhed the fineſt cottons in the world. Its inhabitants, who for the moſt part were natives of the country, and had leſs intercourſe with the Arabians and other nations, were the moſt humane and induſtrious of all the people in Indoſtan. To this we may add, that the paſſage along the coaſt of Coromandel towards the north, leads to the mines of Golconda:

Golconda: beſides that, this coaſt is admirably ſituated for the trade of Bengal and other countries.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, Albuquerque made no ſettlement there. The ſettlements of St. Thomas and Negapatan, were not formed till afterwards. He knew that this coaſt was deſtitute of harbours, and inacceſſible at certain periods of the year, when it would be impoſſible for the fleets to protect the colonies. In ſhort, he thought that when the Portugueſe had made themſelves maſters of Ceylon, a conqueſt begun by his predeceſſor d'Almeyda, and afterwards completed, they might command the trade of Coromandel, if they got poſſeſſion of Malacca. He therefore determined to make the attempt.

The Portugueſe conquer Malacca.

THE country, of which Malacca is the capital city, is a narrow tract of land, about a hundred leagues in length. It joins to the continent towards the northern coaſt, where it borders on the ſtate of Siam, or, more properly, the kingdom of Johor, which has been ſeparated from it. The reſt is ſurrounded by the ſea, and divided from the iſland of Sumatra by a channel which is called the Straits of Malacca.

NATURE had amply provided for the happineſs of the Malays, by placing them in a mild, healthy climate, where refreſhing gales and cooling ſtreams allay the fervour of the torrid zone; where the ſoil pours forth an abundance of delicious fruits to ſatisfy the wants of a ſavage life; and is capable of anſwering, by cultivation, all the neceſſary demands of ſociety; where the trees wear an eternal verdure, and the flowers bloom in a perpetual ſucceſſion: where the moſt delicate and fragrant odours, breathing from aromatic plants, perfume the air, and infuſe a ſpirit of voluptuous delight into all living beings.

BUT

BOOK I.

But while nature has done every thing in favour of the Malays, ſociety has done them every poſſible injury. Such has been the influence of a tyrannical government, that the inhabitants of the happieſt country in the univerſe, have become remarkable for the ferocity of their manners. The feudal ſyſtem, which was firſt planned among the rocks and woods of the north, has extended itſelf even to the foreſts and mild regions of the equator, where every thing conſpires to promote the enjoyment of a long life of tranquillity, which can only be ſhortened by a too frequent and exceſſive indulgence in pleaſures. This enſlaved nation is under the dominion of an arbitrary prince, or rather of twenty tyrants, his repreſentatives. Thus the deſpotiſm of a ſultan has found means to extend its oppreſſive influence to multitudes, by lodging its authority in the hands of numerous overgrown vaſſals.

This turbulent and oppreſſive ſcene gave riſe to an univerſal ſavageneſs of manners. In vain did heaven and earth ſhower their bleſſings upon Malacca; theſe bleſſings only ſerved to make its inhabitants ungrateful and unhappy. The maſters let out their ſervices, or rather thoſe of their dependents for hire, to the beſt bidder, regardleſs of the loſs that agriculture would ſuſtain for want of hands. They preferred a wandering and adventurous life, either by ſea or land to induſtry. This people had conquered a large Archipelago, well known in the eaſt by the name of Malayan Iſlands. The numerous colonies that were tranſplanted thither, carried with them their laws, their manners, their cuſtoms, and what is ſomewhat remarkable, the ſofteſt language in all Aſia.

The ſituation of Malacca had, however, made it the moſt conſiderable market in India; its harbour was conſtantly crouded with veſſels either from Japan, China, the

the Philippine and Molucca islands, and the adjacent parts of the eastern coast; or from Bengal, Coromandel, Malabar, Persia, Arabia, and Africa. These merchants carried on a safe trade among themselves, or with the inhabitants; the Malays, who had been addicted to plunder, preferring a certain advantage to the precarious and uncertain success of piratical expeditions.

The Portuguese wanted to have a share in the general commerce of Asia. At first they appeared at Malacca in the character of merchants; but their usurpations in India rendered their designs so much suspected, and the animosity of the Arabians had circulated reports so much to the disadvantage of these conquerors, that measures were taken to destroy them. They fell into the snares that were laid for them; several of them were massacred, and others thrown into prison. Those who escaped got back to their ships, which retreated to the Malabar coast.

Though Albuquerque did not intend to wait for a rupture to afford him a pretence of seizing Malacca, he was not displeased at this incident, as it gave his enterprize an appearance of justice that might lessen the odium which such a step must naturally have drawn upon the Portuguese name. As an impression so favourable to his views might be weakened by delay, he did not hesitate a moment to take his revenge. The enemy expected a sudden blow; and accordingly, when he appeared before the place, at the beginning of the year 1511, he found every thing in readiness to receive him.

But formidable as these preparations appeared, there was a still greater obstacle, which for some days damped the valour of the christian general; his friend, Araújo, had been taken prisoner in the first expedition, and the enemy threatened to put him to death the moment the siege should begin. Albuquerque, who did not want sen-

BOOK I.

ſibility, pauſed at the proſpect of his friend's danger, when he received the following billet. *Think of nothing but the glory and advantage of Portugal; if I cannot contribute towards your victory, at leaſt let me not be the means of preventing it.* The place was attacked and carried after ſeveral doubtful, bloody, and obſtinate engagements. They found in it immenſe treaſures, vaſt magazines, and whatever could contribute to the elegancies and pleaſures of life, and a fort was erected there to ſecure the conqueſt.

As the Portugueſe contented themſelves with the poſſeſſion of the city, the inhabitants, who profeſſed a kind of corrupt Mohammedaniſm, and were unwilling to ſubmit to their new maſters, either retired into the inland parts, or diſperſed themſelves along the coaſt. Having loſt the ſpirit of commerce, they relapſed into all the exceſſes of their violent character. Theſe people never go without a poniard, which they call *crid*. The invention of this murderous weapon ſeems to have exhauſted all the powers of their ſanguinary genius. Nothing is more to be dreaded than ſuch men armed with ſuch an inſtrument. When they get on board a veſſel, they ſtab all the crew when they leaſt ſuſpect any harm. Since their treachery has been known, all the Europeans take care never to employ a Malayan ſailor; but theſe barbarians, who always made it a rule to attack the weaker party, have now changed this ancient cuſtom, and, animated by an unaccountable reſolution, to kill or be killed, come in boats with thirty men to board our veſſels, and ſometimes ſucceed in carrying them off: if they are repulſed, they have the ſatisfaction at leaſt of having imbrued their hands in blood.

A PEOPLE who derives from nature ſuch an inflexible bravery, may be exterminated, but not ſubdued by force. They are only to be civilized by humane treatment,

ment, the allurements of riches or liberty, the influence of virtue and moderation, and a mild government. They muſt be reſtored to their rights, or left to themſelves, before we can hope to eſtabliſh any intercourſe with them. To attempt to reduce them by conqueſt, is, perhaps, the laſt method that ſhould be tried: as it will only increaſe their abhorrence of a foreign yoke, and diſcourage them from entering into any ſocial engagements. Nature has placed certain people in the midſt of the ocean, like lions in the deſerts, that they may enjoy their liberty. Tempeſts, ſands, foreſts, mountains and caverns, are the places of refuge and defence to all independent beings. Civilized nations ſhould take care how they invade the rights, or rouze the ſpirits of iſlanders and ſavages: as they may be aſſured that they will become cruel and barbarous to no purpoſe; that their ravages will make them deteſted; and that diſgrace and revenge are the only laurels they can expect to obtain.

AFTER the reduction of Malacca, the kings of Siam, Pegu, and ſeveral others, alarmed at a conqueſt ſo fatal to their independence, ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate Albuquerque, to make him an offer of their trade, and to deſire an alliance with Portugal.

Settlement of the Portugueſe in the Malacca iſlands.

AFFAIRS being in this ſituation, a ſquadron was detached from the fleet to the Malaccas. Theſe iſlands, which lie in the Indian ocean near the equinoctial, are ten in number, including as uſual, thoſe of Banda. The largeſt is not more than twelve leagues in circumference, and the others are much ſmaller.

IT is not known who were the firſt inhabitants; but it is pretty certain that the Javans and the Malays have ſucceſſively been in poſſeſſion of them. At the beginning of the ſixteenth century, they were inhabited by a kind of ſavages, whoſe chiefs, though honoured with the

BOOK I.

title of kings, poſſeſſed only a limited authority, totally dependent on the caprice of their ſubjects. They had of late years, joined the ſuperſtitions of Mohammedaniſm to thoſe of Paganiſm, which they had profeſſed for a conſiderable time. Their indolence was exceſſive. Their only employment was hunting and fiſhing; and they were ſtrangers to all kind of agriculture. They were encouraged in their inactivity by the advantages they derived from the cocoa-tree.

The cocoa is a tree whoſe roots are ſo ſlender and penetrate ſo little a way into the ground, that it is frequently blown down by the wind. Its trunk, which riſes to the height of thirty or forty feet, is ſtraight, of a middling thickneſs, and every where of the ſame diameter. It is of ſo ſpungy a nature, that it is unfit for ſhip-timber, or for any building that requires ſolidity. The tuft is compoſed of ten or twelve leaves, which are large, long, and thick, and are made uſe of in covering the roofs of houſes. From this tuft, which is renewed thrice every year, at the ſame time ariſe very large buds, from each of which hang ten or twelve cocoas, which, including their ſhells, are more than half a foot in diameter. The outer coat of the nut conſiſts of filaments, which are uſed for coarſe ſtuffs, and ſhip cables. Of the next coat, which is very hard, are made ſmall cups, and other domeſtic utenſils. The inſide of this ſhell is filled with a white firm pulp, from which is expreſſed an oil much uſed in the Indies. It is ſweet, as long as it continues freſh, but it contracts a bitter taſte when it is kept long, and is then only proper for burning. The ſediment that remains in the preſs, affords nouriſhment for cattle, poultry, and even the lower kind of people in times of ſcarcity. The pulp of the cocoa contains a liquid which is extremely refreſhing, and quenches the thirſt of labouring people both at ſea

and

and land. This liquor is very wholeſome, but has a ſweet inſipid taſte.

When thoſe buds are cut at the extremity, veſſels are placed to receive the white liquor that diſtils from them: which if drawn off before ſun-riſe, and drunk while it is freſh, has the flavour of ſweet wine. It afterwards turns ſour, and makes good vinegar. When diſtilled in its higheſt perfection, it produces a ſtrong brandy: and boiled with quick-lime, yields a middling kind of ſugar. The trees from which this liquor has been extracted, bear no fruit; the juices being exhauſted, which ſerve to produce and nouriſh the kernel.

Besides this tree, which is common in all parts of India, the Malaccas produce a ſingular plant, which they call ſago. This tree affords a nutriment from its trunk and vital ſubſtance: its fruit being a ſuperfluous and uſeleſs part. It grows wild in the foreſts, and multiplies itſelf by ſeeds and ſuckers. It riſes to the height of thirty feet, and is about ſix in circumference. The bark is an inch thick. The inner rind is compoſed of an aſſemblage of long fibres which are interlaced with each other. This double coat contains a kind of ſap or gum, which falls into meal. This tree, which ſeems to grow purely for the uſe of man, points out the meal by a fine white powder which covers its leaves, and is a certain ſign of the maturity of the ſago. It is then cut down to the root, and ſawn into ſcantlings, which are divided into four quarters, for the better extracting of the ſap or meal it contains. After this ſubſtance has been diluted in water, it is ſtrained through a kind of ſieve, which retains the groſſer particles; the reſt is thrown into earthen moulds, where it dries and hardens for ſome years. The Indians eat the ſago diluted with water, and ſometimes baked or boiled. Through a principle of humanity, they reſerve the fineſt part of

BOOK I.

this meal for the aged and infirm. A jelly is ſometimes made of it, which is white and of a delicious flavour.

TEMPERATE, independent, and averſe from labour, theſe people had lived for ages upon the meal of the ſago, and the milk of the cocoa, when the Chineſe landing by accident at the Malaccas, diſcovered the clove and the nutmeg, with which valuable ſpices the ancients were entirely unacquainted. They were ſoon admired all over the Indies, from whence they were tranſported to Perſia and Europe. The Arabians who at that time engroſſed almoſt all the trade of the univerſe, did not overlook ſo lucrative a part of it. They repaired in crowds to theſe celebrated iſlands, whoſe productions they had already monopolized, had not the Portugueſe, who purſued them every where, deprived them of this branch of trade. Notwithſtanding the ſchemes that were laid to ſupplant theſe conquerors, they obtained permiſſion to build a fort. From this time the court of Liſbon ranked the Malaccas among the number of their provinces, and it was not long before they became ſuch in reality.

WHILE Albuquerque's lieutenants enriched their country with the new productions of the eaſt, their general completed the conqueſt of Malabar, which would have taken advantage of his abſence to recover its liberty. After his late ſucceſs, he employed the leiſure he enjoyed in the midſt of his conqueſts, in ſuppreſſing the licentiouſneſs of the Portugueſe; eſtabliſhing order in all the colonies, and regulating the diſcipline of the army: in the courſe of which he diſplayed an activity, ſagacity, wiſdom, juſtice, humanity, and diſintereſtedneſs, which did honour to his character. His good qualities made ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of the Indians, that, for a long time after his death, they continued to repair to his tomb to demand juſtice for the out-

outrages committed by his ſucceſſors. He died at Goa in the year 1515, without riches, and out of favour with Emanuel, who had been prevailed upon to entertain ſuſpicions of his conduct.

The cauſes of the enterprizing ſpirit of the Portugueſe.

If our aſtoniſhment is raiſed at the number of Albuquerque's victories, and the rapidity of his conqueſts, how deſervedly do thoſe brave men claim our admiration, whom he had the honour to command in theſe expeditions? Did any nation, with ſo ſlender a force, ever perform ſuch great actions? The Portugueſe, with leſs than forty thouſand troops, ſtruck terror into the empire of Morocco, the barbarous nations of Africa, the Mammelucs, the Arabians, and all the eaſtern countries from the iſland of Ormus to China. With a force in the proportion of one to a hundred, they engaged troops, which, when attacked by an enemy of equal ſtrength, would frequently defend their lives and poſſeſſions to the laſt extremity. What kind of men then muſt the Portugueſe have been, and what extraordinary cauſes muſt have conſpired to produce a nation of heroes!

They had been at war with the Moors near a century, when Henry of Burgundy, with ſeveral French knights landed in Portugal with a deſign to ſerve in Caſtile under the famous Cid, whoſe reputation had drawn them thither. The Portugueſe invited them to lend their aſſiſtance againſt the infidels; the knights complied, and the greateſt part of them ſettled in Portugal. Chivalry, which has contributed as much as any other inſtitution to exalt human nature; ſubſtituting the love of glory for the love of our country; that refined ſpirit drawn from the dregs of the barbarous ages, and calculated to repair or leſſen the errors and inconveniences of the feudal government from whence it took its riſe; at that time revived on the banks of the Tagus, in all the ſplendor it had at its

BOOK I.

firſt appearance in France and England. The princes endeavoured to keep it alive, and to extend its influence by eſtabliſhing ſeveral orders formed upon the plan of the ancient ones, and calculated to infuſe the ſame ſpirit, which was a mixture of heroiſm, gallantry, and devotion.

THE ſovereigns raiſed the ſpirit of the nation ſtill higher by treating the nobility in ſome meaſure upon a footing of equality, and by ſetting bounds to their own authority. They frequently aſſembled their ſtates general, without which, properly ſpeaking, there can be no nation. By theſe ſtates Alphonſo was inveſted with the regal authority after the taking of Liſbon; and in conjunction with them, his ſucceſſors, for a long time, exerciſed the power of making laws. Many of theſe laws were calculated to inſpire the love of great actions. The order of nobility was conferred upon thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſignal ſervices; by killing or taking priſoner the enemy's general, or his ſquire; or by refuſing to purchaſe their liberty, when in the hands of the Moors, by renouncing their religion. On the other hand, whoever inſulted a woman, gave falſe evidence, broke his promiſe, or "diſguiſed the truth to his ſovereign," was deprived of his rank.

THE wars waged by the Portugueſe in defence of their rights and liberties, were at the ſame time religious wars. They partook of that fierce, yet enterprizing fanaticiſm, which the popes had encouraged at the time of the cruſades. The Portugueſe, therefore, were knights armed in defence of their properties, their wives, their children and their kings, who were knights as well as themſelves. Beſides theſe, they were the heroes of the cruſade, who, in defending chriſtianity were fighting for their country. To this may be added, that the nation was ſmall, and its power extremely limited; it being

being chiefly in little ſtates that we find that enthuſiaſtic fondneſs for their country, which is utterly unknown in larger communities, that enjoy a greater ſecurity.

THE principles of activity, vigour, and a noble elevation of mind, which united in the character of this nation, were not loſt after the expulſion of the Moors. They purſued theſe enemies of their religion and government into Africa. They were engaged in ſeveral wars with the kings of Caſtile and Leon; and during the interval that preceded their expeditions to India, the nobility lived at a diſtance from cities and the court, and preſerved in their caſtles the virtues of their anceſtors, together with their portraits.

WHEN the plan of extending their conqueſts in Africa and Aſia became the object of attention among the Portugueſe; a new paſſion co-operated with the principles juſt mentioned, to give additional energy to the Portugueſe ſpirit. This paſſion, which however it might animate all the reſt for the preſent, would ſoon deſtroy the generoſity of their temper, was avarice. The veſſels were crowded with adventurers, who wanted to enrich themſelves, ſerve their country, and make proſelytes. They appeared in India to be ſomething more than men till the death of Albuquerque. Then riches, which were the object and reward of their conqueſts, introduced an univerſal corruption. The nobler paſſions gave way to the pleaſures of luxury, which never fail to enervate the body, and to deſtroy the virtues of the mind. The weak ſucceſſors of the illuſtrious Emanuel, and the men of mean abilities, which he himſelf ſent as viceroys to the Indies, gradually contributed to the degeneracy of the Portugueſe.

LOPEZ-SOAREZ, however, who ſucceeded Albuquerque, purſued his deſigns. He aboliſhed a barbarous cuſtom that prevailed in the country of Travancor, in

BOOK I.

in the neighbourhood of Calicut. Theſe people conſulted ſorcerers concerning the deſtiny of their children: If the magician promiſed a happy deſtiny, they were ſuffered to live, if he foretold any great calamities that were to befal them, they were put to death. Soarez interpoſed to preſerve their children. He was for ſome time employed in preventing this oppoſition with which the Portugueſe were threatened in India; and as ſoon as he was relieved from his anxiety, he reſolved to attempt a paſſage to China.

Arrival of the Portugueſe at China. State of this empire.

THE great Albuquerque had formed the ſame deſign. He had met with Chineſe ſhips and merchants at Malacca, and conceived a high opinion of a nation, whoſe very ſailors had more politeneſs, a better ſenſe of decorum, more good nature and humanity, than were, at that time, to be found among the European nobility. He invited the Chineſe to continue their commerce with Malacca. From them he procured a particular account of the ſtrength, riches, and manners of their extenſive empire, and communicated his intelligence to the court of Portugal.

THE Chineſe nation was utterly unknown in Europe. Mark Paul, a Venetian, who had travelled to China by land, had given a deſcription of it which was looked upon as fabulous. It correſponded, however, with the particulars ſince tranſmitted by Albuquerque. Credit was given to this officer's teſtimony, and to his account of the lucrative trade that might be carried on in this country.

IN the year 1518 a ſquadron ſailed from Liſbon to carry over an ambaſſador. As ſoon as it arrived at the iſlands in the neighbourhood of Canton, it was ſurrounded by Chineſe veſſels, which came to reconnoitre it. Ferdinand D'Andreade, who commanded it, did not attempt to defend himſelf: he ſuffered the Chineſe to come

come on board; communicated the object of his voyage to the Mandarins that presided at Canton, and sent his ambassador on shore, who was conducted to Pekin.

This ambassador was every moment presented with some new wonder, that struck him with amazement. If we consider the largeness of towns, the multitude of villages, the variety of canals, of which some are navigable across the empire, and others contribute to the fertility of the soil: the art of cultivating their lands, and the abundance and variety of their productions, the sagacious and mild aspect of the inhabitants, the perpetual interchange of good offices which appeared in the country, and on the publick roads, and the good order preserved among those numberless crouds who were engaged in the hurry of business, we shall not wonder at the surprize of the Portuguese ambassador, who had been accustomed to the barbarous and ridiculous manners of Europe.

Let us take a short view of this people. The history of a nation so well governed, is the history of men: the rest of the world resembles the chaos of matter before it was wrought into form. After a long series of devastation, society has at length risen to order and harmony. States and nations are produced from each other, like individuals, with this difference, that in families nature brings about the death of some, and provides for the births of others, in a constant and regular succession: but in states, this rule is violated and destroyed by the disorders of society, where it sometimes happens that ancient monarchies stifle rising republics in their births, and that a rude and savage people, rushing like a torrent, sweep away multitudes of states, which are disunited and broken in pieces.

China alone has been exempted from this fatality. This empire, bounded on the north by Russian Tartary, on the south by the Indies, by Thibet on the west, and by

BOOK I.

by the ocean on the eaſt, comprehends almoſt all the eaſtern extremity of the continent of Aſia. It is eighteen hundred leagues in circumference. It is ſaid to have laſted through a ſucceſſive ſeries of four thouſand years, nor is this antiquity at all to be wondered at. The narrow bounds of our hiſtory, and the ſmall extent of our kingdoms, which riſe and fall in a quick ſucceſſion, are the conſequence of wars, ſuperſtition, and the unfavourable circumſtances of our ſituation. But the Chineſe, who are encompaſſed and defended on all ſides by ſeas and deſerts, have, like the ancient Egyptians, given a laſting ſtability to their empire. Since their coaſts, and the inland parts of their territories have been peopled and cultivated, this happy nation muſt of courſe have been the center of attraction to all the ſurrounding people; and the wandering or cantoned tribes muſt neceſſarily have gradually attached themſelves to a body of men, who ſpeak leſs frequently of the conqueſts they have made, than of the attacks they have ſuffered; and are happier in the thought of having civilized their conquerors, that they could have been in that of having deſtroyed their invaders.

In a country where the government is ſo ancient, we may every where expect to find deep traces of the continued force of induſtry. The plains have been levelled with the exacteſt care; and, in general, have no greater declivity than is neceſſary to facilitate the watering of the land, which they conſider, with reaſon, as one of the greateſt helps in agriculture. They have but few, even of the moſt uſeful trees, as their fruits would rob the corn of its nouriſhment. There are gardens, it is true, interſperſed with flowers, fine turf, ſhrubberies and fountains; but however agreeable theſe ſcenes might be to an idle ſpectator, they ſeem to be concealed and removed from the public eye, as if the owners were afraid

afraid of ſhewing how much their amuſements had encroached upon the ſoil that ought to be cultivated for the ſupport of life. They have no parks or extenſive foreſts, which are not near ſo ſerviceable to mankind by the wood they furniſh, as prejudicial by preventing agriculture; and while they contribute to the pleaſure of the great by the beaſts that range in them, prove a real misfortune to the huſbandman. In China, the beauty of a country-ſeat conſiſts in its being happily ſituated, ſurrounded with an agreeable variety of cultivated fields, and interſperſed with trees planted irregularly, and with ſome mounts of a porous ſtone, which at a diſtance have the appearance of rocks or mountains.

The hills are generally cut into terraces, ſupported by dry walls. Here they have reſervoirs, conſtructed with ingenuity, for the reception of rain and ſpring water. It is not uncommon to ſee the bottom, ſummit and declivity of a hill watered by the ſame canal, by means of a number of engines of a ſimple conſtruction, which ſave manual labour, and perform with two men what could not be done with a thouſand in the ordinary way. Theſe heights commonly yield three crops in a year. They firſt ſow a kind of radiſh, which produces an oil, then cotton, and after that potatoes. This is the common method of culture; but this rule is not without exception.

Upon moſt of the mountains which are incapable of being cultivated for the uſe of man, proper trees are planted for building houſes or ſhips. Many of them contain iron, tin and copper mines, ſufficient to ſupply the empire. The gold mines have been neglected, either becauſe their produce did not defray the expence of working them, or becauſe the gold duſt, waſhed down by the torrents was found ſufficient for the purpoſes of exchange.

BOOK I.

THE ſandy plains, ſaved from the ravages of the ocean, which changes its bed as rivers do their courſe, in a ſpace of time ſo exactly proportioned to their different moments, that a ſmall encroachment of the ſea, cauſes a thouſand revolutions on the ſurface of the globe, form, at this day, the provinces of Nankin and Techekiang, which are the fineſt in the empire. As the Egyptians checked the courſe of the Nile, the Chineſe have raviſhed, reſtrained, and given laws to the ocean. They have re-united to the continent, tracts of land which had been disjoined by the element. They ſtill exert their endeavours to oppoſe that over-ruling effect of the earth's motion, which protrudes the ocean from eaſt to weſt. To the movements of the globe, the Chineſe oppoſe the efforts of induſtry: and while nations, the moſt celebrated in hiſtory, have, by the rage of conqueſt, increaſed the ravages that time is perpetually making upon this globe; they uſe ſuch efforts to retard the progreſs of univerſal devaſtation, as might appear ſupernatural, if daily experience did not afford us ſtrong evidence to the contrary.

To the improvements upon land, this nation adds, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, the improvement of the water. The rivers, which communicate with each other by canals, and run under the walls of moſt of the towns, preſent us with the proſpect of floating cities, compoſed of an infinite number of boats filled with people, who live conſtantly upon the water, and whoſe ſole employment is fiſhing. The ſea itſelf is covered with barks, whoſe maſts, at a diſtance, appear like moving foreſts. Anſon finds fault with the fiſhermen belonging to theſe boats, for not giving themſelves a moment's intermiſſion from their work to look at his ſhip, which was the largeſt that had ever appeared in theſe latitudes. But this

this inattention to an object, which appeared to a Chineſe ſailor to be of no uſe, though it was in the way of his profeſſion, is, perhaps, a proof of the happineſs of a people, who prefer buſineſs to matters of mere curioſity.

THE manner of culture is by no means uniform throughout this empire, but varies according to the nature of the ſoil and the difference of the climate. In the low countries towards the ſouth they ſow rice, which being always under water, grows to a great ſize, and yields two crops in a year. In the inland parts of the country, where the ſituation is lofty and dry, the ſoil produces a ſpecies of rice, which is neither ſo large, well-taſted, or nouriſhing, and makes the huſbandman but one return in the year for his labour. In the northern parts they cultivate the ſame kinds of grain as in Europe, which grow in as great plenty, and are of as good a quality as in any of our moſt fertile countries. From one end of China to the other, there are large quantities of vegetables, particularly in the South, where that and fiſh ſupply the place of meat, which is the general food of the other provinces. But the improvement of lands is univerſally underſtood and attended to. All the different kinds of manure are carefully preſerved, and ſkilfully diſtributed to the beſt advantage; and that which ariſes from fertile lands, is applied to make them ſtill more fertile. This grand ſyſtem of nature, which is ſuſtained by deſtruction and re-production, is better underſtood and attended to in China than in any other country in the world.

A PHILOSOPHER, whom the ſpirit of obſervation has led into their empire, has found out and explained the cauſes of the rural oeconomy of the Chineſe.

THE firſt of theſe cauſes is that character of induſtry by which this nation is particularly diſtinguiſhed, and

BOOK I.

and is one of thoſe, which in its nature requires a leſs ſhare of repoſe. Every day in the year is devoted to labour, except the firſt, which is employed in paying and receiving viſits among relations; and the laſt, which is ſacred to the memory of their anceſtors. The firſt is a ſocial duty, the latter a part of domeſtic worſhip. In this nation of ſages, whatever unites and civilizes mankind is religion, and religion itſelf is nothing more than the practice of the ſocial virtues. Theſe ſober and rational people want nothing more than the controul of civil laws to make them juſt; their private worſhip conſiſts in the love of their parents whether living or dead; and their public worſhip in the love of labour; and that labour which is held in the moſt ſacred veneration is agriculture.

THE generoſity of two of their emperors is much revered, who, preferring the intereſts of the ſtate to thoſe of their family, kept their own children from the throne to make room for men taken from the plow. They revere the memory of theſe huſbandmen, who ſowed the ſeeds of the happineſs and ſtability of the empire in the fertile boſom of the earth; that inexhauſtible ſource of whatever conduces to the nouriſhment, and conſequently to the numbers of mankind.

IN imitation of theſe royal huſbandmen, the emperors of China become huſbandmen officially. It is one of their public functions to break up the ground in the ſpring; and the parade and magnificence that accompanies this ceremony, draws together all the farmers in the neighbourhood of the capital. They flock in crouds to ſee their prince perform this ſolemnity in honour of the firſt of all the arts. It is not, as in the fables of Greece, a god, who tends the flocks of a king; it is the father of his people, who, holding the plow with his own hands, ſhews his children what are the true riches of the ſtate.

In

In a little time he repairs again to the field he has ploughed himſelf, to ſow the ſeed that is moſt proper for the ground. The example of the prince is followed in all the provinces; and at the ſame ſeaſons, the viceroys repeat the ſame ceremonies in the preſence of a numerous concourſe of huſbandmen. The Europeans, who have been preſent at this ſolemnity at Canton, never ſpeak of it without emotion; and make us regret that this feſtival, whoſe political aim is the encouragement of labour, is not eſtabliſhed in our climate, inſtead of that number of religious feaſts, which ſeem to be invented by idleneſs to make the country a barren waſte.

It is not to be imagined, however, that the court of Pekin are really engaged in the labours of a rural life. The arts of luxury are grown to ſo great a height in China, that theſe performances can only paſs for mere ceremonies. But the law which obliges the prince to ſhow this token of reſpect to the profeſſion of huſbandmen, has a tendency to promote the advantage of agriculture. The deference paid by the ſovereign to public opinions contributes to perpetuate it; and the influence of opinion is the principal ſpring that actuates the political machine.

This influence is preſerved in China by conferring honours on all huſbandmen, who excel in the cultivation of the ground. When any uſeful diſcovery is made the author of it is called to court to communicate it to the prince; and is ſent by government into the provinces, to inſtruct them in his method. In a word, in this country, where nobility is not hereditary, but a mere perſonal reward indiſcriminately beſtowed upon merit; ſeveral of the magiſtrates and perſons raiſed to the higheſt employments in the empire are choſen out of families who are ſolely employed in the cultivation of land.

BOOK I.

These encouragements which belong to their manners, are further ſeconded by the beſt political inſtitutions. Whatever is in its nature incapable of being divided, as the ſea, rivers, canals, &c. is enjoyed in common, and is nobody's property. Every one has the liberty of going upon the water, fiſhing, and hunting; and a ſubject who is in poſſeſſion of an eſtate, whether acquired by himſelf or left by his relations, is in no danger of having his right called in queſtion by the tyrannical authority of the feudal laws.

The ſmallneſs of the taxes is ſtill a farther encouragement to agriculture. Till lately, the proportion paid to government out of the produce of the lands, was from a tenth down to a thirtieth part of the income, according to the quality of the ſoil. This was the only tribute levied in China. The leading men never entertained a thought of increaſing it; not venturing to puſh a point of this nature in oppoſition to cuſtom and opinion, which determine every thing in this empire. Some emperors and miniſters, no doubt, would have been glad to attempt an innovation of this kind; but as ſuch an undertaking would require time, and they could not hope to live to ſee its ſucceſs, they did not chooſe to engage in it. Men of bad principles aim at immediate enjoyment, while the virtuous ſubject extending his benevolence beyond the preſent generation, contents himſelf with forming deſigns, and propagating uſeful truths, without expecting to reap any advantage from them in his own perſon.

It is but lately that conqueſt and commerce have introduced new taxes into China. The Tartar emperors have laid a duty upon certain articles of proviſions, metals, and merchandiſe. In ſhort, if we may believe the Jeſuit Amyot, cuſtoms are eſtabliſhed there as well as in Europe.

It were to be wiſhed, that the Europeans would imitate the Chineſe in the mode of levying their taxes; which is juſt, humane, and not expenſive. Every year, at the time of harveſt, the fields are meaſured, and rated in proportion to their actual produce. Whether the Chineſe are as diſhoneſt as they are repreſented, or whether they are only faithleſs and deceitful in their dealings with ſtrangers, as ſeveral nations among the ancients, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but it ſhould ſeem that government repoſes conſiderable confidence in them, as they are not teized and moleſted by thoſe ſearchings and troubleſome viſits, ſo common in the mode of taxation in Europe. The only penalty inflicted on perſons liable to be taxed, and who are too ſlow in the payment of the tribute demanded by the public, is to quarter old, infirm, and poor people upon them, to be maintained at their expence till they have diſcharged the debt due to government. This manner of proceeding has a tendency to awaken pity and humanity in the breaſt of a citizen, when he ſees miſerable objects, and hears the cries of hunger: inſtead of giving diſguſt, and exciting his reſentment by forcible ſeizures and the menaces of an inſolent ſoldiery, who come to live at diſcretion in a houſe expoſed to the numberleſs extortions of the exchequer.

In China, the taxes are levied without having recourſe to thoſe oppreſſive methods that are practiſed in Europe. The mandarins take the tenth part of the produce of the earth in kind. The officers in the municipal towns give in their account of this tribute and all other taxes to the receiver-general of the province; and the whole is lodged in the public treaſury. The uſe that is made of this revenue prevents all frauds in collecting it: as it is well known, that a part of theſe duties is allotted for the maintenance of the magiſtrates and ſoldiers. The

BOOK I.

money arising from the sale of this proportion of the product of the lands is never issued from the exchequer but in public exigencies. It is laid up in the magazines against times of scarcity, when the people receive, what they lent, as it were, in times of plenty.

It may naturally be expected that a nation, enjoying so many advantages, will be extremely populous: especially in a climate where, whatever reason may be assigned for it, the women are remarkably prolific, and the men do no injury to the natural vigour of their constitution by the use of strong liquors; where the weather is wholesome and temperate, and few children die in proportion to the numbers born: where the soil overpays the labour of cultivating it, not to mention their simple and plain manner of living, which is regulated by the strictest oeconomy.

The Jesuits, however, who were employed by the court of Pekin to make charts of the empire, in the course of their undertaking, discovered some considerable tracts of desert land, which had escaped the notice of the merchants who frequented only the sea-ports, and of travellers who went only by the road of Canton to the capital.

It would be impossible to account for the want of population in some countries remote from China, if it were not known, that, in these extensive states, a great number of children are destroyed soon after they are born; that several of those who escape this cruel fate, suffer the most shameful mutilation; and of those who are not thus barbarously robbed of their sex, many are reduced to a state of slavery, and deprived of the comforts of marriage by tyrannical masters: that polygamy, so contrary to reason and the spirit of society, is universally practised; that the vice which nature rejects with the utmost abhorrence, is very common; and that the con-

vents of the Bonzes contain little leſs than a million of perſons devoted to celibacy.

But if a few ſcattered cantons, which are hardly known even in China, be deſtitute of hands to cultivate them; are there not many more in which men are aſſembled in ſuch numbers as to incommode each other? This inconvenience is obſervable in the neighbourhood of great cities and public roads, and particularly in the ſouthern provinces. Accordingly it appears, by the records of the empire, that a bad harveſt has ſeldom failed to produce an inſurrection.

We need go no further to find the reaſons which prevent deſpotiſm from making any advances in China. It is evident from theſe frequent revolutions, that the people are fully ſenſible that a regard to the rights of property, and a ſubmiſſion to the laws, are duties of a lower claſs, ſubordinate to the original rights of nature, and that communities are formed for the common benefit of thoſe who enter into them. Accordingly, when the more immediate neceſſaries of life fail, the Chineſe ceaſe to acknowledge an authority which does not provide for their ſubſiſtence. The right of kings is founded on the regard they pay to the preſervation of the people. Neither religion nor morality teach any other doctrine in China.

The emperor is well aware, that he preſides over a people who ſubmit to the laws no longer than while they promote their happineſs. He is ſenſible, that if the ſpirit of tyranny, which is ſo common and infectious in other countries, ſhould ſeize him but for a moment, ſuch a violent oppoſition would be raiſed, that he would be driven from the throne. Accordingly, finding himſelf inveſted with the ſupreme authority by a people who obſerve and criticiſe his conduct, he is far from attempting to make himſelf a religious phantom,

BOOK I.

and doing juſt as he pleaſes. He does not violate the ſacred contract, by virtue of which he holds the ſceptre. He is convinced that the people are ſo well acquainted with their rights, and the manner of defending them, that whenever a province complains of the Mandarin that governs it, he recalls him without examination, and delivers him up to a tribunal, which proceeds againſt him if he is in fault: but ſhould he even prove innocent, he is not reinſtated in his employment, as it is deemed a crime to have drawn upon himſelf the reſentment of the people. He is conſidered as an ignorant tutor, who ſhould attempt to prevent children from entertaining the affection which they owe to their father. This compliance, which, in other countries, would nouriſh perpetual diſcontent, and occaſion an infinite number of intrigues, is not attended with any inconvenience in China, where the inhabitants are naturally diſpoſed to be mild and juſt, and the conſtitution of the ſtate is ſo ordered, that its delegates have ſeldom any rigorous commands to execute.

THE neceſſity of juſtice in the prince tends to make him more wiſe and intelligent. He is in China what one would gladly believe princes in all countries were, the idol of his people. It ſhould ſeem that their manners and laws conſpire to eſtabliſh this fundamental principle, that China is a family of which the emperor is the patriarch. He does not poſſeſs his authority as a conqueror, or a legiſlator, but as a father: as a father he governs, rewards, and puniſhes. This pleaſing ſentiment gives him a greater power than the tyrants of other nations can poſſibly derive from the number of their troops, or the artifices of their miniſters. It is not to be imagined what eſteem and affection the Chineſe have for their emperor, or, as they expreſs it, their common, their univerſal father.

THIS

THIS public worſhip is founded upon that which is eſtabliſhed by private education. In China, the father and mother claim an abſolute right over their children at every period of life, even when raiſed to the higheſt dignity. Paternal authority, and filial affection, are the ſources of every thing in this empire: by this the manners are regulated, and it is the grand tie that unites the prince to his ſubjects, the ſubjects to their prince, and citizens to one another. The Chineſe government has gradually arrived at that point of perfection, from which all others ſeem to have finally and irrevocably degenerated. I mean the patriarchal government, a government eſtabliſhed by nature itſelf.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſublime ſyſtem of morals, that for ſo many ages has contributed to the proſperity of the Chineſe empire, it would probably have experienced an inſenſible change, if the chimerical diſtinctions allowed to birth had not deſtroyed that original equality eſtabliſhed by nature among mankind, and which ought only to give place to ſuperior abilities, and ſuperior merit. In all the ſtates of Europe, one claſs of men aſſume from their infancy a pre-eminence independent of their moral character. The attention paid them from the moment of their birth, gives them the idea that they are formed for command; they ſoon learn to conſider themſelves as a diſtinct ſpecies, and being ſecure of a certain rank and ſtation, take no pains to make themſelves worthy of it.

THIS ſyſtem, to which we owe ſo many indifferent miniſters, ignorant magiſtrates, and bad generals, has no place in China, where nobility does not deſcend by hereditary right. The figure any citizen makes, begins and ends with himſelf. The ſon of the prime miniſter of the empire has no advantages at the moment of his birth, but thoſe he may have derived from na-

BOOK I.

ture. The rank of nobility is ſometimes conferred upon the anceſtors of a man who has done ſome ſignal ſervices to his country; but this mark of diſtinction, which is merely perſonal, dies with its poſſeſſor: and his children derive no other advantage from it than the memory and example of his virtues.

In conſequence of this perfect equality, the Chineſe are enabled to eſtabliſh an uniform ſyſtem of education, and to inculcate correſpondent principles. It is no difficult taſk to perſuade men who are upon an equal footing by birth, that they are all brethren. This opinion gives them every advantage which would be loſt if a contrary idea prevailed. A Chineſe, who ſhould abſtract himſelf from this common fraternity, would become a ſolitary and miſerable being; and wander as a ſtranger in the heart of his country.

Instead of thoſe frivolous diſtinctions, which are allotted to birth in almoſt every other country, the Chineſe ſubſtitute real ones, founded entirely on perſonal merit. A ſet of wiſe and intelligent men, who are honoured with the title of the learned mandarins, devote themſelves to the ſtudy of all ſciences neceſſary to qualify them for the adminiſtration of public affairs. None can be admitted into this reſpectable ſociety, who are not recommended by their talents and knowledge: for riches give no claim to this honour. The mandarins are at their option to fix upon proper perſons to aſſociate with them; and they never chuſe any perſon without a previous and ſtrict examination. There are different claſſes of mandarins, the ſucceſſion to which is regulated by merit, and not by ſeniority.

Out of the claſs of mandarins, the emperor, according to a cuſtom as ancient as the empire, elects miniſters, magiſtrates, governors of provinces, and officers of every denomination, who are called to any employment

ployment in the ſtate. As his choice can only fall upon men of tried abilities, the welfare of the people is always lodged in the hands of thoſe who are worthy of ſuch a truſt.

In conſequence of this inſtitution, no dignity is hereditary except that of the crown; and even that is not always conferred on the eldeſt ſon; but to him whom the emperor and the council of mandarins judge moſt worthy. By this method, a ſpirit of virtuous emulation prevails even in the imperial family. The throne is given to merit alone, and it is aſſigned to the heir only in conſideration of his abilities. The emperors rather chuſe to appoint a ſucceſſor from a different family, than to intruſt the reins of government to unſkilful hands.

The viceroys and magiſtrates enjoy the affection of the people, at the ſame time that they partake of the authority of the ſovereign; and any miſtakes in their adminiſtration meet with the ſame indulgence that is ſhown to thoſe of the ſupreme legiſlator. They have not that tendency to ſedition which prevails in this part of the world. In China there is no ſet of men to form or manage a faction; as the mandarins have no rich and powerful family connections, they can derive no ſupport but from the crown, and their own prudence. They are trained up in a way of thinking that inſpires humanity, the love of order, beneficence, and reſpect for the laws. They take pains to inculcate theſe ſentiments into the people, and ſecure their attachment to every law, by ſhewing them its uſeful tendency. The ſovereign paſſes no edict that does not convey ſome moral or political inſtruction. The people neceſſarily become acquainted with their intereſts, and the meaſures taken by government to promote them;

and

BOOK I.

and the better informed they are, the more likely they will be to remain quiet.

SUPERSTITION, which excites disturbances in all other countries, and either establishes tyranny, or overthrows government, has no influence in China. It is tolerated, injudiciously perhaps, by the laws: but, at least, it never makes laws itself. No person can have any share in the government who does not belong to the class of literati, which admits of no superstition. The bonzes are not allowed to ground the duties of morality upon the doctrines of their sects, nor consequently to dispense with them. If they impose upon some part of the nation, their artifices do not affect those whose example and authority are of the greatest importance to the state.

CONFUCIUS, in whose actions and discourses precept was joined to example, and whose memory and doctrine are equally embraced and revered by all classes and sects whatsoever, was the founder of the national religion of China. His code contains a system of natural law, which ought to be the ground-work of all religions, the rule of society, and standard of all governments. He taught that reason was an emanation of the Deity; and that the supreme law consisted in the harmony between nature and reason. The religion that runs in opposition to these two guides of human life, does not come from heaven.

As the Chinese have no term for God, they say that heaven is God. *But*, says the emperor Chang-chi, in an edict published in 1710, *it is not to the visible and material heaven that we offer our sacrifices, but to the Lord of Heaven.* Thus atheism, though not uncommon in China, is not publicly professed. It is neither the characteristic of a sect, nor an object of persecution; but is tolerated as well as superstition.

THE

THE emperor, who is ſole pontiff, is likewiſe the judge in matters of religion; but as the national worſhip was made for the government, not the government for it; and as both were deſigned to be ſubſervient to the ends of ſociety, it is neither the intereſt nor inclination of the ſovereign to employ the two fold authority lodged in his hands, for the purpoſes of oppreſſion. If on the one hand the doctrines and ceremonies of the hierarchy do not prevent the prince from making an ill uſe of abſolute authority; he is more powerfully reſtrained on the other, by the general influence of the national manners.

ANY attempt to change theſe manners would be attended with the greateſt difficulty, becauſe they are inculcated by a mode of education which is, perhaps, the beſt we are acquainted with. They do not make a point of inſtructing their children till they are five years old. They are then taught to write words or hieroglyphics, which repreſent ſenſible objects, of which at the ſame time they endeavour to give them clear ideas. Afterwards their memory is ſtored with ſententious verſes containing precepts of morality, which they are taught to reduce to practice. As they advance in years they are inſtructed in the philoſophy of Confucius. This is the manner of education among the ordinary ranks. The children who are deſigned for poſts of honour, begin in the ſame manner; but intermix other ſtudies relative to human conduct in the different ſtations of life.

IN China, the manners take their complexion from the laws, and are preſerved by common uſage, which are likewiſe preſcribed by the laws. The Chineſe have a greater number of precepts, relating to the moſt common actions, than any other people in the world. Their code of politeneſs is very voluminous; the loweſt citizen is inſtructed in it, and obſerves it with the ſame exactneſs as the mandarines and the court.

THE

BOOK I.

THE laws in this code, like all the reſt, are formed with a view of keeping up the opinion that China is but one great family, and of promoting that regard and mutual affection in the citizens, which is due to each other as brethren. Theſe rights and cuſtoms tend to preſerve the manners. Sometimes, indeed, ceremonies are ſubſtituted for ſentiment; but how often are they the means of reviving it! They compoſe a kind of conſtant homage that is paid to virtue; and is calculated to engage the attention of youth. It preſerves the reſpect due to virtue herſelf; and if it ſometimes leads to hypocriſy, it encourages a laudable zeal. Tribunals are erected to take cognizance of tranſgreſſions againſt the cuſtoms; as well as to puniſh crimes and reward merit. Moderate penalties are inflicted upon crimes, and virtue is diſtinguiſhed by marks of honour. Honour is accordingly one of the principles that actuate the Chineſe government: and though it is not the leading one, operates more ſtrongly than fear, and more feebly than affection.

UNDER the influence of ſuch inſtitutions, one ſhould expect, that China would be the country in the whole world, where men would be moſt humane. Accordingly the humanity of the Chineſe is conſpicuous on thoſe occaſions, where it ſhould ſeem, that virtue could have no other object but juſtice; and that juſtice could not be executed without ſeverity. Their priſoners are confined in neat and commodious apartments, where they are well taken care of even to the moment when they ſuffer. It frequently happens, that the only puniſhment inflicted on a rich man amounts to no more than obliging him for a certain time to maintain or clothe ſome old men and orphans at his own expence. Our moral and political romances, form the real hiſtory of the Chineſe, who have regulated all the actions of men with

with ſuch an exact nicety, that they have ſcarcely any need of ſentiment. Yet they do not fail to cultivate the latter in order to give a proper eſtimation to the former.

THE ſpirit of patriotiſm, that ſpirit, without which ſtates are mere colonies, and not nations, is ſtronger, perhaps, and more active among the Chineſe, than it is found in any republic. It is common to ſee them voluntarily contributing their labour to repair the public roads: the rich build places of ſhelter upon them for the uſe of travellers; others plant trees there. Such actions, which are proofs of a beneficent humanity, rather than an oſtentation of generoſity, are far from being uncommon in China.

THERE have been times, when they have been frequent; and others, when they have been leſs ſo; but the corruption which was the cauſe of the latter, brought on a revolution, and the manners of the people were reformed. They ſuffered by the late invaſion of the Tartars: they are now recovering in proportion, as the princes of that victorious nation lay aſide the ſuperſtitions of their own country, to adopt the principles of the nation they have conquered; and in proportion as they improve in the knowledge of thoſe books, which the Chineſe call canonical.

IT cannot be long before we ſee the amiable character of this nation entirely revived; that fraternal, and kindred principle; thoſe enchanting ſocial ties, which ſoften the manners of the people, and attach them inviolably to the laws. Political errors and vices cannot take deep root in a country where they never promote any men to public employments, but ſuch as are of the ſect of the learned, whoſe ſole occupation is to inſtruct themſelves in the principles of morality and government. As long as real knowledge ſhall be held in eſtimation, as long as it ſhall continue to lead to public honours,

there

BOOK I.

there will exiſt among the people of China a fund of reaſon and virtue, which will not be found among other nations.

If this picture of the manners of the Chineſe ſhould be different from that drawn by other writers, it is not, perhaps, impoſſible to reconcile opinions ſo ſeemingly contradictory. China may be conſidered in two diſtinct points of view. If we ſtudy the inhabitants as they appear in the ſea-ports, and great towns, we ſhall be diſguſted at their cowardice, knavery and avarice: but in the other parts of the empire, particularly in the country, we ſhall find their manners domeſtic, ſocial and patriotic. It would be difficult to point out a more virtuous, humane and intelligent people.

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that the greateſt part of thoſe improvements, which depend upon theories at all complicated, are not ſo far advanced there, as one ſhould naturally expect from an ancient, active and diligent people, who have ſo long had a clue to them. But this riddle is not inexplicable. The Chineſe language requires a long and laborious ſtudy, ſcarcely to be comprehended within the term of a man's life. The rites and ceremonies, which they obſerve upon every occaſion, afford more exerciſe for their memory than their ſenſibility. Their manners are calculated to check the impulſes of the ſoul, and weaken its operations. Too much taken up in the purſuit of what is uſeful, they have no opportunity of launching out into the extenſive regions of imagination. An exceſſive veneration for antiquity, makes them the ſlaves of whatever is eſtabliſhed. All theſe cauſes united, muſt neceſſarily have ſtifled, among the Chineſe, the ſpirit of invention. It requires ages with them to bring any thing to perfection; and whoever reflects on the ſtate, in which arts and ſciences were found among them three hundred

hundred years ago, muſt be convinced of the extraordinary antiquity of their empire.

THE low ſtate of learning, and the fine arts in China, may perhaps be further owing to the very perfection of its government. This paradox has its foundation in reaſon. Where the ſtudy of the laws holds the firſt rank in a nation, and is rewarded with an appointment in the adminiſtration, inſtead of a poſt in an academy; where learning is applied to the regulation of manners, or the maintenance of the public weal; where the ſame nation is exceedingly populous, and requires a conſtant attention in its learned members to make ſubſiſtence keep an equal pace with population; where every individual, beſides the duties he owes to the public, which take a conſiderable time to be well underſtood, has particular duties ariſing from the claims of his family or profeſſion: in ſuch a nation the ſpeculative and ornamental parts of ſcience cannot be expected to arrive at that height of ſplendor they have attained in Europe. But the Chineſe, who are only our ſcholars in the arts of luxury and vanity, are our maſters in the ſcience of good government. They ſtudy how to increaſe, not how to diminiſh the number of inhabitants.

ONE of the arts in which the Chineſe have made the the leaſt progreſs is that of war. It is natural to imagine, that a nation, whoſe whole conduct, like that of infants, is influenced by ceremonies, precepts, and cuſtoms either of private or public inſtitution, muſt conſequently be pliant, moderate and inclined to tranquillity both at home and abroad. Reaſon and reflection, while they cheriſh ſentiments like theſe, leave no room for that enthuſiaſm, which conſtitutes the hero and the warrior. The ſpirit of humanity, which they imbibe in their tender years, makes them look with abhorrence on thoſe ſanguinary ſcenes of rapine and maſſacre, that

are

BOOK I.

are ſo familiar to nations of a warlike turn. With ſuch diſpoſitions, can we wonder that the Chineſe are not warriors? They have ſoldiers without number, but totally undiſciplined, except in the ſingle article of obedience, being ſtill more deficient in practice than in courage. In their wars with the Tartars, the Chineſe knew not how to fight, and only ſtood to be killed. Their attachment to their government, their country and their laws, may ſupply the want of a warlike ſpirit, but will never ſupply the want of good arms, and military ſkill. When a nation has found the art of ſubduing its conquerors by its manners, it has no occaſion to overcome its enemies by force of arms.

SUCH is the empire of China, ſo much talked of, and ſo little known. Such it was, when the Portugueſe landed there. They might have learned in it leſſons of wiſdom and government, but they thought of nothing but of enriching themſelves, and propagating their religion. Thomas Perez their ambaſſador, found the court of Pekin diſpoſed to favour his nation, whoſe fame had ſpread itſelf throughout Aſia. It had already attracted the eſteem of the Chineſe, and the conduct of Ferdinand Andrada, who commanded the Portugueſe ſquadron, tended ſtill farther to increaſe their eſteem. He viſited all the coaſts of China, and traded with the natives. When he was on the point of departure, he made proclamation in the ports he had put into, that if any one had been injured by a Portugueſe, and would make it known he ſhould receive ſatisfaction. The ports of China were now upon the point of being opened to them: Thomas Perez was juſt about concluding a treaty, when Simon Andrada, brother to Ferdinand, appeared on the coaſts with a freſh ſquadron. This commander treated the Chineſe in the ſame manner as the Portugueſe had, for ſome time treated all the people of Aſia. He built a fort without permiſſion, in the iſland

iſland of Taman, from whence he took opportunities of pillaging, and extorting money from all the ſhips bound from, or to the ports of China. He carried off young girls from the coaſt; he ſeized upon Chineſe men and made them ſlaves; he gave himſelf up to the moſt licentious acts of piracy, and the moſt ſhameful diſſoluteneſs. The ſailors and ſoldiers under his command, followed his example. The Chineſe enraged at theſe violences fitted out a large fleet: The Portugueſe defended themſelves courageouſly, and eſcaped by making their way through the enemy's fleet. The emperor impriſoned Thomas Perez, who died in confinement, and the Portugueſe nation was baniſhed from China for ſome years; after this the Chineſe relaxed and gave permiſſion to the Portugueſe to trade at the port of Sancian, to which place they brought gold from Africa, ſpices from the Molucca iſlands, and from Ceylon, elephants teeth, and ſome precious ſtones. In return they took ſilks of every kind, china, gums, medicinal herbs and tea, which is ſince become ſo neceſſary a commodity to the northern nations of Europe.

THE Portugueſe contented themſelves with the ſheds, and offices they had at Sancian, and the liberty granted to their trade by the Chineſe government, till an opportunity offered of eſtabliſhing themſelves upon a footing more ſolid, and leſs dependent upon the mandarins, who had the command of the coaſt.

A PIRATE, named Tokang-ſi-loo, whoſe ſucceſſors had made him powerful, had ſeized upon the iſland of Macao, from whence he blocked up the ports of China, and even proceeded ſo far as to lay ſiege to Canton. The neighbouring mandarins had recourſe to the Portugueſe, who had ſhips in the harbour of Sancian; they haſtened to the relief of Canton, raiſed the ſiege,

BOOK I.

and obtained a complete victory over the pirate, whom they purſued as far as Macao, where he killed himſelf.

THE emperor of China being informed of the ſervice the Portugueſe had rendered him on this occaſion, beſtowed Macao on them, as a mark of his gratitude. They received this grant with joy, and built a town which became very flouriſhing, and was advantageouſly ſituated for the trade they ſoon after entered into with Japan.

The beginning of the Portugueſe trade in Japan, the ſtate of the Japaneſe iſlands.

IN the year 1542, it happened that a Portugueſe veſſel fortunately was driven by a ſtorm on the coaſt of thoſe celebrated iſlands. The crew was hoſpitably received, and obtained of the natives every thing they wanted to refreſh, and refit them for the ſea. When they arrived at Goa, they reported what they had ſeen, and informed the viceroy, that a new country, not leſs rich than populous, preſented itſelf to the zeal of miſſionaries, and the induſtry of merchants. Both miſſionaries, and merchants embarked without delay for Japan.

THEY found a great empire, which is, perhaps, the moſt ancient of any in the world, except that of China; its annals are not without a great mixture of fable, but it appears beyond a doubt, that in the year 660, Sin chu founded the monarchy, which has ever ſince been continued in the ſame family. Theſe ſovereigns called Dairos, were at the ſame time the kings, and the pontiffs of the nation; and by virtue of theſe united powers got the whole extent of the ſupreme authority into their hands. The perſon of the Dairos was ſacred; they were conſidered as the deſcendants, and repreſentatives of the gods. The leaſt diſobedience to them, or trifling of their laws, was looked upon as a crime ſcarcely to be expiated by the ſevereſt puniſhment; nor were they confined to the offender alone, his whole family was involved in the conſequences of his crime.

ABOU

About the eleventh century theſe princes, who, no doubt, were more jealous of the pleaſing prerogatives of prieſthood, than of the troubleſome rights of royalty, divided the ſtate with ſeveral governments, and intruſted the adminiſtration of them to ſuch of the nobility as were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge and wiſdom.

By this means the unlimited power of the Dairos ſuffered a conſiderable change. The affairs of the empire were left to fluctuate at all adventures. The reſtleſs and quick ſighted ambition of their viceroys took advantage of this inattention to make a thouſand revolutions. By degrees they began to depart from the allegiance they had ſworn to preſerve. They made war upon each other, and even upon their ſovereign: an abſolute independence was the conſequence of theſe commotions, ſuch was the ſtate of Japan, when it was diſcovered by the Portugueſe.

The great iſlands, of which this empire is compoſed, being ſituated in a tempeſtuous climate ſurrounded by ſtorms, agitated by volcanos, and ſubject to thoſe great natural events, which impreſs terror on the human mind, were inhabited by a people entirely addicted to ſuperſtition, but divided into ſeveral ſects. That of Xinto is the ancient eſtabliſhed religion of the country: it acknowledges a ſupreme being, and the immortality of the ſoul; and pays adoration to a multitude of gods, ſaints, or camis, that is to ſay the ſouls of great men, who have been the ſupport and ornament of their country. The high-prieſt of this ſect held the government of Japan under the name of Dairo. He was deſcended from the gods, and in that quality reigned deſpotically over his ſubjects. Being both emperor and high-prieſt, he has rendered religion, in ſome reſpects, uſeful to his people, which is not abſolutely impoſſible in coun-

BOOK I.

tries where the facerdotal and civil power are united in the ſame perſon.

It does not appear that the ſect of Xinto has had the madneſs, which of all others is the moſt dangerous to morality, to fix a criminal ſtigma on actions innocent in themſelves. Far from encouraging that gloomy fanaticiſm, and fear of the gods, which is inſpired by almoſt all other religions, the Xinto ſect had applied itſelf to prevent, or at leaſt to moderate this diſorder of the imagination, by inſtituting feſtivals, which were celebrated three times in every month. They were dedicated to friendly viſits, feaſts, and rejoicings. The prieſts of Xinto taught, that the innocent pleaſures of mankind are agreeable to the deity, and that the beſt method of paying devotion to the Camis is to imitate their virtues, and to enjoy in this world, that happineſs they enjoy in another. In conſequence of this tenet, the Japaneſe after having put up their prayers in the temples, which are always ſituated in the midſt of groves, reſorted to courtezans, who commonly inhabited places conſecrated to love, and devotion, and compoſed a religious community under the direction of an order of monks who received a ſhare of the profits, ariſing from this pious compliance with the dictates of nature.

The Budzoiſts are another ſect in Japan, of which Budzo was the founder. Their doctrine was nearly the ſame with that of the ſect of Xinto; over which they hoped to gain a ſuperiority by the ſeverity of their morals. Beſides Amida, the deity of the Xintoiſts, the Budzoiſts worſhipped a kind of mediator between God and mankind. They likewiſe worſhipped other mediatorial divinities between men and Amida. The profeſſors of this religion, flattered themſelves, that they ſhould prevail over the religion of Xinto by the multi-

tude

tude of their precepts, the exceſs of their auſterity, their devotions and mortifications.

THE ſpirit of Budzoiſm is dreadful. It breathes nothing but penitence, exceſſive fear, and cruel ſeverity. Of all fanaticiſms it is the moſt terrible. The monks of this ſect oblige their diſciples to paſs one half of their lives in penance, to expiate imaginary ſins; and inflict upon them the greateſt part of that penance themſelves, with a tyranny and cruelty, of which one may conceive an idea, from the inquiſitors in Spain; with this difference, that the Japaneſe fathers are themſelves the butchers of theſe voluntary victims to ſuperſtition; whereas the inquiſitors are only the judges of thoſe ſins and puniſhments, which they have themſelves deviſed and invented. The Budzoiſts prieſts keep the minds of their followers in a continual ſtate of torture, between remorſe and expiations. Their religion is ſo over-loaded with precepts, that it is not poſſible to obſerve them. They repreſent their gods as always deſirous to puniſh, and always offended.

IT may readily be imagined, what effects ſo horrible a ſuperſtition muſt have on the character of the people, and to what degree of ferocity it hath brought them. The lights of a wholeſome morality, a little philoſophy, a prudent ſyſtem of education might have remedied theſe laws, this government, and this religion; which conſpire to make mankind more ſavage in ſociety with his own ſpecies, than if he lived in the woods, and had no companions but the monſters that roam the deſerts.

IN China, they put into the hands of children books of inſtruction, which contain a detail of their duties, and teach them the advantages of virtue. The Japaneſe children are made to get by heart poems in which the actions of their forefathers are celebrated, a contempt

BOOK I.

of life is inculcated, and ſuicide is ſet up as the moſt heroic of all actions. Theſe ſongs and poems, which are ſaid to be full of energy and beauty, beget enthuſiaſm. The Chineſe education tends to regulate the ſoul, and keep it in order: the Japaneſe, to inflame and excite it to heroiſm. Theſe are guided through life by ſentiment; the Chineſe by reaſon and cuſtom.

The Chineſe aim only at truth in their writings, and place their happineſs in a ſtate of tranquillity. The Japaneſe have a quick reliſh of pleaſures, and would rather ſuffer, than be without feeling. In fine, the Chineſe ſeem to wiſh to counteract the violence and impetuoſity of the ſoul; the Japaneſe to keep it from ſinking into a ſtate of languor and inactivity.

It is natural to imagine that people of this character muſt be fond of novelty. The Portugueſe were accordingly received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. All the ports were open to them. All the petty princes of the country invited them to their provinces: each contending who ſhould give them the moſt valuable advantages, grant them the moſt privileges, and ſhew them the greateſt civilities. Theſe merchants eſtabliſhed a prodigious trade. The Portugueſe carried thither the commodities of India which they brought from different markets; and Macao ſerved as a repoſitory for their European goods. Immenſe quantities of the productions of Europe and Aſia were conſumed by the Dairo, the uſurpers of his rights, the grandees, and the whole nation. But what have they to give in return?

The country of Japan is in general mountainous, ſtrong, and by no means fertile. Its produce in rice, barley, and wheat, which are the only crops it admits of, is not ſufficient for the maintenance of its numerous inhabitants; who notwithſtanding their activity, foreſight,

ſight, and frugality, muſt periſh with famine, if the ſea did not ſupply them with great quantities of fiſh. The empire affords no productions proper for exportation; nor do the mechanic arts furniſh any article of trade but their works of ſteel, which are the beſt we are acquainted with.

WERE it not for the advantages it derives from its mines of gold, ſilver, and copper, which are the richeſt in Aſia, and perhaps in the whole world, Japan could not ſupport its own expences. The Portugueſe every year carried off quantities of theſe metals, to the amount of fourteen or fifteen millions of livres. (upon an average, about 624,000*l.*) They married alſo the richeſt of the Japaneſe heireſſes, and allied themſelves to the moſt powerful families.

WITH ſuch advantages the avarice, as well as the ambition of the Portugueſe, might have been ſatisfied. They were maſters of the coaſts of Guinea, Arabia, Perſia, and the two Peninſulas of India. They were poſſeſſed of the Moluccas, Ceylon, and the iſles of Sunda; while their ſettlement at Macao inſured to them the commerce of China and Japan.

Extent of the Portugueſe dominions in the Indies.

THROUGHOUT this immenſe tract, the will of the Portugueſe was the ſupreme law. Earth and ſea acknowledged their ſovereignty. Their authority was ſo abſolute, that things and perſons were dependent upon them, and moved entirely by their directions. No nation or private perſon dared to make voyages, or carry on trade, without obtaining their permiſſion and paſſport. Thoſe who had this liberty granted them, were prohibited from trading in cinnamon, ginger, pepper, timber, iron, ſteel, lead, tin, and arms, of which the conquerors reſerved to themſelves the excluſive benefit. A thouſand valuable articles, by which ſo many nations have ſince enriched themſelves, and which then bore a

BOOK I.

higher price on account of their novelty, were entirely engroſſed by the Portugueſe. In conſequence of this monopoly, the price of the produce and manufactures both in Europe and Aſia were regulated at their diſcretion.

In the midſt of ſo much glory, wealth, and conqueſt, the Portugueſe had not neglected that part of Africa, which lies between the Cape of Good Hope and the Red ſea, and has in all ages been famed for the richneſs of its productions. The poſſeſſion of this country was on many accounts an important object; the Arabians had been ſettled there for ſeveral ages, and their numbers were greatly increaſed. They had formed along the coaſt of Zanguebar ſeveral ſmall independent ſovereignties, ſome of which made a conſiderable figure, and almoſt all of them were in good condition. The flouriſhing ſtate of theſe ſettlements was owing to mines of gold and ſilver, which they found within their reſpective territories, the produce of which enabled them to purchaſe the commodities of India. To poſſeſs themſelves of this treaſure, and to deprive their competitors of it, was looked upon as an indiſpenſable duty by the Portugueſe. Agreeable to this principle, theſe Arabian merchants were attacked, and without difficulty ſubdued, about the year 1508. Upon their ruins was formed an empire, which extended from Sofala as far as Melinda, of which the iſland of Moſambique was made the center. This iſland is ſeparated from the continent only by a narrow channel, and is no more than two leagues in circumference. Its port, which is excellent, and wants nothing but a purer air, was fixed upon as a place for the veſſels of the conqueror to put in at, and as a ſtaple for all their merchandiſe. Here they were uſed to wait for thoſe ſettled winds, which at certain times of the year blow without intermiſſion from the African

African to the Indian coaſts, as at other times of the year they blow in an oppoſite direction from the coaſts of India to thoſe of Africa.

Corruption of the Portugueſe in India.

THESE ſucceſſes properly improved might have formed ſo conſiderable a power, that could not be ſhaken; but the vices and folly of ſome of their chiefs, the abuſe of riches and of power, the wantonneſs of victory, the diſtance of their own country, had changed the character of the Portugueſe. The religious zeal, which had added ſo much force and activity to their courage, now produced in them nothing but ferocity. They made no ſcruple of pillaging, cheating, and enſlaving idolaters. They ſuppoſed that the Pope, in beſtowing the kingdoms of Aſia upon the Portugueſe monarchs, had not with-held the property of individuals from their ſubjects. Being become abſolute maſters of the eaſtern ſeas, they extorted a tribute from the ſhips of every country; they ravaged the coaſts, inſulted the princes, and became in a ſhort time the terror and ſcourge of all nations.

THE king of Sidor was carried off from his own palace, and murdered with his children, whom he had entruſted to the care of the Portugueſe.

AT Ceylon. the people were not ſuffered to cultivate the earth, except for their new maſters, who treated them with the greateſt barbarity.

AT Goa they had eſtabliſhed the inquiſition, and whoever was rich became a prey to the miniſters of that infamous tribunal.

FARIA, who was ſent out againſt the pirates from Malacca, China, and other parts, made a deſcent on the iſland of Calampui, and plundered the ſepulchres of the emperors of China.

SOUZA cauſed all the pagodas on the Malabar coaſt to be deſtroyed, and his people inhumanly maſſacred the

BOOK I.

the wretched Indians, who went to weep over the ruins of their temples.

CORREA terminated an obſtinate war with the king of Pegu; and both parties were to ſwear on the books of their ſeveral religions to obſerve the treaty. Correa ſwore on a collection of ſongs, and thought by this vile ſtratagem to elude his engagements.

NUNO da Cunha would make himſelf maſter of the iſland of Damanag on the coaſt of Cambaya; the inhabitants offered to ſurrender it to him, if he would ſuffer them to carry off their treaſures. This requeſt was refuſed and Nuno put them all to their ſword.

DIEGO de Silveira was cruizing in the red ſea. A veſſel richly laden ſaluted him. The captain came on board, and gave him a letter from a Portugueſe general, which was to be his paſſport. The letter contained only theſe words: *I deſire the captains of ſhips belonging to the king of Portugal to ſeize upon this mooriſh veſſel, as a lawful prize.*

IN a ſhort time the Portugueſe preſerved no more humanity or good faith with each other than with the natives. Almoſt all the ſtates, where they had the command, were divided into factions.

THERE prevailed every where in their manners a mixture of avarice, debauchery, cruelty and devotion. They had moſt of them ſeven or eight concubines, whom they kept to work with the utmoſt rigour, and forced from them the money they gained by their labour. Such treatment of women was very different from the ſpirit of chivalry.

THE chiefs, and principal officers, admitted to their table a multitude of thoſe ſinging and dancing women, with which India abounds. Effeminacy introduced itſelf into their houſes and armies. The officers marched to meet the enemy in palankeens. That brilliant courage, which had ſubdued ſo many nations, exiſted

no

no longer among them. The Portugueſe were with difficulty brought to fight, except where there was a proſpect of plunder. In a ſhort time the king of Portugal uſed to receive the produce of the tribute, which was paid him by more than one hundred and fifty eaſtern princes. This money was loſt in its way from them to him. Such corruption prevailed in the finances, that the tributes of ſovereigns, the revenues of provinces, which ought to have been immenſe, the taxes they levied in gold, ſilver, and ſpices, on the inhabitants of the continent and iſlands, were not ſufficient to keep up a few citadels, and to fit out the ſhipping that was neceſſary for the protection of trade.

It is a melancholy view to contemplate the fall of nations. Let us haſten to the adminiſtration of Don Juan da Caſtro, who reſtored to the Portugueſe ſome part of their virtue.

Castro was much enlightened conſidering the age he lived in. He poſſeſſed a noble and elevated ſoul; and the ſtudy of the ancients had preſerved in him that love of glory and of his country, which was ſo common among the Greeks and Romans.

In the beginning of his wiſe and glorious adminiſtration, Cojé-Sophao, miniſter of Mahmoud, king of Cambaya, had inſpired his maſter with a deſign of attacking the Portugueſe. This man, whoſe father is ſaid to have been an Italian, and his mother a Greek, had raiſed himſelf from ſlavery to the conduct of the ſtate, and the command of armies. He had made himſelf a Muſſulman, and, though he had really no religion, he knew how to avail himſelf of the averſion the people had conceived againſt the Portugueſe, on account of the contempt they ſhewed for the religions of the country. He engaged in his ſervice experienced officers, veteran ſoldiers, able engineers, and even founders, whom he got

BOOK I.

got from Conſtantinople. His preparations ſeemed intended againſt the Mogul or the Patans, and when the Portugueſe leaſt expected it, he attacked and made himſelf maſter of Diu, and laid ſiege to the citadel.

THIS place, which is ſituated on a little iſland upon the coaſt of Guzurat, had always been conſidered as the key of India in thoſe times, when navigators never launched out from the coaſt; and Surat was the great ſtaple of the eaſt. From the arrival of Gama, it had been conſtantly an object of ambition to the Portugueſe, into whoſe hands it fell at length in the time of d'Acughna. Maſcarenhas, who was governor of it at the juncture we are ſpeaking of, ſhould have had nine hundred men, of which he had only three: the reſt of his garriſon, by an abuſe very common in thoſe days, were employed in trade at the different towns upon the coaſt. He muſt have ſurrendered, if he had not received immediate aſſiſtance. Caſtro ſent him a reinforcement under the command of his ſon, who was killed in the attempt. Cojè-Sophar was killed alſo; but his death did not ſlacken the operations of the ſiege.

CASTRO inſtituted funeral games in honour of thoſe who fell in defence of their couutry. He congratulated their parents in the name of the government, and received congratulations himſelf on the death of his eldeſt ſon. His ſecond preſided at the funeral games, and marched immediately after for Diu, to deſerve, as it were, the honours he had juſt been paying to his brother. The garriſon repulſed the enemy in every attack, and ſignalized themſelves every day by extraordinary actions. In the eyes of the Indians the Portugueſe were more than men. *Happily*, ſaid they, *Providence has decreed that there ſhould be but few of them as there are of tygers and lions, leſt they ſhould exterminate the human ſpecies.*

CASTRO

CASTRO himſelf headed a larger reinforcement than thoſe he had ſent. He threw himſelf into the citadel with proviſions, and above four thouſand men. It was debated, whether they ſhould give battle. The reaſons on both ſides were diſcuſſed. Garcias de Sâ, an old officer, commanded ſilence; *Ye have all ſpoke*, ſaid he, *now let us fight.* Caſtro was of the ſame opinion. The Portugueſe marched out to the enemy's intrenchments, and gained a ſignal victory. After having raiſed the ſiege, it was neceſſary to repair the citadel. They were in want of money, and Caſtro borrowed it on his own credit.

AT his return to Goa he wiſhed to give his army the honours of a triumph after the manner of the ancients. He thought that ſuch honours would ſerve to revive the warlike ſpirit of the Portugueſe, and that the pomp of the ceremony might have a great effect on the imagination of the people. At his entry the gates of the city were ornamented with triumphal arches; the ſtreets were lined with tapeſtry; the women appeared at the windows in magnificent habits, and ſcattered flowers and perfumes upon the conquerors; while the people danced to the ſound of inſtruments of muſic. The royal ſtandard was carried before the victorious ſoldiers, who marched in order. The viceroy crowned with branches of palm rode on a ſuperb car: the generals of the enemy followed his car, and after them the ſoldiers that had been made priſoners. The colours that had been taken from them, were carried in proceſſion reverſed and dragging on the ground, and were followed by their artillery and baggage. Repreſentations of the citadel they had delivered, and of the battle they had gained, enhanced the ſplendor of the ſpectacle. Verſes, ſongs, orations, firing of cannon, every thing concurred

BOOK I.

curred to render the feſtival magnificent, agreeable, and ſtriking.

ACCOUNTS of this triumph were brought to Europe. The wits condemned it as ridiculous, the bigots as profane. The queen of Portugal ſaid upon the occaſion, *That Caſtro had conquered like a chriſtian hero and triumphed like a pagan one.*

THE vigour of the Portugueſe, which Caſtro had reanimated, did not long continue. Corruption made daily advances among the citizens of every claſs. One of the viceroys ſet up boxes in the principal towns, in which any perſon might put memorials and articles of intelligence. Such a method might be very uſeful and tend to a reformation of abuſes in an enlightended country, where the morals of the people were not totally ſpoiled, but among a ſuperſtitious and corrupt people of what ſervice could it be?

THE original conquerors of India were none of them now ſubſiſting, and their country exhauſted by too many enterprizes and colonies was not in a capacity to replace them. The defenders of the Portugueſe ſettlements were born in Aſia; their opulence, the ſoftneſs of the climate, the manner of living, and, perhaps, the food had taken from them much of the intrepidity of their forefathers. At the ſame time that they gave themſelves up to all thoſe exceſſes which make men hated, they did not retain courage enough to make themſelves feared. They were monſters; poiſon, fire, aſſaſſination, every ſort of crime was become familiar to them; nor were they private perſons only who were guilty of ſuch practices, men in office ſet them the example! They cut the throats of the natives; they tore each other in pieces. The governor, who was juſt arrived, loaded his predeceſſor with irons, that he might ſtrip him of his wealth. The diſtance of the ſcene,

falſe

falſe witneſſes and large bribes ſecured every crime from puniſhment.

Decline of the Portugueſe power in India.

THE iſland of Amboyna was the firſt to avenge itſelf. A Portugueſe had at a public feſtival ſeized upon a very beautiful woman, and regardleſs of all decency, had committed the greateſt of outrages againſt her. One of the iſlanders, named Genulio, armed his fellow-citizens; after which he called together the Portugueſe, and addreſſed them in the following manner: "To revenge affronts of ſo cruel a nature as thoſe we have "received from you, would require actions, not words. "Yet we will ſpeak to you. You preach to us a "Deity, who delights, you ſay, in generous actions; "but theft, murder, obſcenity, and drunkenneſs are "your common practice; your hearts are enflamed "with every vice. Our manners can never ſuit with "yours: nature foreſaw this, when ſhe ſeparated us "by immenſe ſeas, and ye have overleaped her barriers. This audacity, of which ye are not aſhamed "to boaſt, is a proof of the corruption of your hearts. "Take my advice; leave to their repoſe theſe nations "that reſemble you ſo little; go, fix your habitations "among thoſe, who are as brutal as yourſelves; an "intercourſe with you would be more fatal to us than "all the evils which it is in the power of your God to "inflict upon us. We renounce your alliance for ever: "your arms are ſuperior to ours; but we are more "juſt than you, and we do not fear you. The Itons "are from this day your enemies; fly from their country, and beware how you approach it again."

THIS harangue, which thirty years before would have brought on the deſtruction of Amboyna, was liſtened to with a patience that fully demonſtrated what a change the Portugueſe had undergone.

EQUALLY

BOOK I.

EQUALLY deteſted in every part, they ſaw a confederacy forming to expel them from the eaſt. All the great powers of India entered into the league, and for two or three years carried on their preparations in ſecret. The court of Liſbon was informed of them; and the king Sebaſtian, who, if it had not been for his ſuperſtition, would have been a great prince, diſpatched Ataida and all the Portugueſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the wars of Europe, to India.

THE general opinion on their arrival was to abandon the diſtant ſettlements, and aſſemble their forces on the Malabar coaſt, and in the neighbourhood of Goa. Although Ataida was of opinion that they had formed too great a number of ſettlements, he did not like the appearance of ſacrificing them. *Comrades*, ſaid he, *I mean to preſerve all, and ſo long as I live the enemy ſhall not gain an inch of ground.* Immediately upon this he ſent ſuccours to all the places that were in danger, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for defending Goa.

THE Samorin attacked Manjalor, Cochin, and Cananor. The king of Cambaya attacked Chaul, Daman, Baichaim. The king of Achem laid ſiege to Malacca. The king of Ternate made war upon them in the Moluccas, Agalachem, a tributary to the Mogul, impriſoned the Portugueſe merchants at Surat. The queen of Gareopa endeavoured to drive them out of Onor.

ATAIDA, in the midſt of the care and trouble attending the ſiege of Goa, ſent five ſhips to Surat, which obliged Agalachem to ſet the Portugueſe, whom he had ſeized, at liberty. Thirteen ſhips were diſpatched to Malacca, upon which the king of Achem and his allies abandoned the ſiege. Beſides theſe, Ataida would fit out even the veſſels, which were employed every year to carry tribute and merchandiſe to Liſbon. It was repreſented

repreſented to him, that inſtead of depriving himſelf of the aſſiſtance of men who were to go on board this fleet, he ſhould preſerve them for the defence of India. *We ſhall be enough without them*, ſaid he, *the ſtate is in diſtreſs and its hopes muſt not be deceived.* This reply ſurpriſed his opponents, and the fleet ſailed. At the time when the place was moſt rigorouſly preſſed by Idalcan, Ataida ſent troops to the ſuccour of Cochin and ſhips to Ceylon. The archbiſhop, whoſe authority was unlimited, interpoſed to prevent it. *Sir*, replied Ataida, *you underſtand nothing of theſe affairs, content yourſelf with recommending them to the bleſſing of God.* The Portugueſe, who came from Europe, exhibited prodigies of valour during this ſiege. It was oftentimes with difficulty, that Ataida could reſtrain them from throwing away their lives. Many of them would ſally out in the night contrary to his orders to attack the beſiegers in their lines.

THE viceroy did not depend ſo entirely on the force of his arms, as to reject the aſſiſtance of policy. He was informed, that Idalcan was governed by one of his miſtreſſes, and that ſhe was in the camp with him. Women, who devote themſelves to the pleaſures of princes are generally ſlaves to ambition, and unacquainted with thoſe virtues, which love inſpires. The miſtreſs of Idalcan ſuffered herſelf to be corrupted, and ſold to Ataida her lover's ſecrets. Idalcan was aware of the treaſon, but could not diſcover the traitor. At laſt, after ten months ſpent in toil and action, his tents deſtroyed, his troops thinned, his elephants killed, and his cavalry unable to ſerve, this prince overcome by the genius of Ataida, quitted the ſiege, and retreated in ſhame and deſpair.

ATAIDA marched without delay to the aſſiſtance of Chaul, which was beſieged by Nizamalve, king of Cambaya,

BOOK I.

baya, at the head of more than a hundred thouſand men. The defence of Chaul had been conducted with as much intrepidity as that of Goa. It was followed by a great victory, which Ataida, with a handful of men, obtained over a numerous army, diſciplined by a long ſiege.

ATAIDA, after this, marched againſt the Samorin, defeated and obliged him to ſign a treaty, by which he engaged never to keep up any ſhips of war.

THE Portugueſe became throughout the eaſt what they were under the immediate conduct of Ataida. A ſingle ſhip, commanded by Lopez Caraſco, fought for three days ſucceſſively againſt the whole fleet of the king of Achem. In the middle of the engagement word was brought to Lopez's ſon, that his father was killed: *We have one brave man the leſs*, ſaid he; *we muſt conquer, or deſerve to die as he has done.* Saying this, he took the command of the ſhip, and forcing his way in triumph through the enemy's fleet, anchored before Malacca.

NOR was courage the only virtue that revived among the Portugueſe at this period, ſo powerful is the aſcendent of a great man, even over the moſt corrupt nations. Thomas de Soſa had got for a ſlave a beautiful girl, who had not long before been promiſed to a young man that was in love with her. He getting intelligence of the misfortune of his miſtreſs, flew to throw himſelf at her feet, and partake of her chains. Soſa was preſent at their interview; they embraced, and melted into tears. *I give you your liberty*, ſaid the Portugueſe general, *go and live happy elſewhere.*

THE management of the public money was likewiſe reformed by Ataida, who reſtrained thoſe abuſes, which are moſt injurious to ſtates, and moſt difficult to be reſtrained. But this good order, this returning heroiſm, this glorious moment, did not ſurvive his adminiſtration.

At

At the death of Sebaſtian, Portugal ſunk into a kind of anarchy, and was by degrees reduced under the dominion of Philip the Second. From this æra the Portugueſe in India ceaſed to conſider themſelves as of the ſame country. Some made themſelves independent, others turned pirates, and paid no reſpect to any flag. Many entered into the ſervice of the princes of the country, and theſe almoſt all became miniſters or generals, ſo great were the advantages this nation ſtill maintained over thoſe of India. There was not one among the Portugueſe, who purſued any other object than the advancement of his own intereſt: there was no zeal, no union for the common good. Their poſſeſſions in India were divided into three governments, which gave no aſſiſtance to each other, and even claſhed in their projects and intereſts Neither diſcipline, ſubordination, nor the love of glory, animated either the ſoldiers or the officers. Men of war no longer came out of the ports, or whenever they came out were badly equipped. Manners became more and more depraved. Not one of their commanders had power enough to reſtrain the torrent of vice, and the majority of theſe commanders were themſelves corrupt. The Portugueſe at length loſt all their former greatneſs, when a free and enlightened nation, actuated with a proper ſpirit of toleration, appeared in India, and contended with them for the empire of that country.

It may be affirmed, that at the time when Portugal firſt made its diſcoveries, the world was very little acquainted with the political principles of trade, the real power of different ſtates, the advantages of conqueſt, the manner of eſtabliſhing and preſerving colonies, and the benefits the mother country might derive from them.

It was a wiſe project to endeavour to find a paſſage by Africa to go to the Indies, and to bring merchandiſe.

BOOK I.

The benefits which the Venetians derived by leſs direct roads, had juſtly excited the emulation of the Portugueſe; but it was proper there ſhould be ſome limits to ſo laudable an ambition.

This ſmall nation becoming a ſudden miſtreſs of the richeſt and moſt extenſive commerce of the globe, ſoon conſiſted of nothing elſe but merchants, factors, and ſailors, who were deſtroyed by long voyages. Thus the Portugueſe loſt the foundation of all real power, which conſiſts in agriculture, natural induſtry, and population; and there was conſequently no proportion between their commerce and the means of keeping it up.

They carried theſe deſtructive meaſures ſtill further; and, animated with the rage of conqueſt, extended themſelves over a vaſt track of land, which no European nation would have been able to preſerve, without impairing their own ſtrength.

Thus this ſmall country, which of itſelf was not very populous, conſtantly exhauſted itſelf in ſoldiers, ſailors and inhabitants, ſent to ſupply the colonies.

The ſpirit of religious intoleration that prevailed amongſt them, would not allow them to admit into the claſs of their own citizens the people of the eaſt and of Africa, and they were therefore obliged to be perpetually at war with their new ſubjects.

As the government ſoon changed its ſchemes of trade into projects of conqueſt; the nation, which had never been guided by the true commercial ſpirit, ſoon aſſumed that of rapine and plunder.

Time-pieces, fire arms, fine cloths, and other articles, which have been ſince carried into India, not being then brought to that degree of perfection they have lately acquired, the Portugueſe could not carry any thing there but money. They ſoon grew tired of this

and carried away from the Indians by force what they had before obtained by purchaſe.

THEN was to be ſeen throughout the kingdom of Portugal the utmoſt profuſion of riches, joined to the moſt extreme poverty. The only opulent perſons were thoſe who had held ſome employment in the Indies; while the huſbandman, who found no one to aſſiſt him in his toil, and the artiſts, who were unable to procure workmen, being ſoon compelled to forego their ſeveral employments, were reduced to the loweſt ſtate of miſery.

ALL theſe misfortunes had been foreſeen. When the diſcovery of the Indies engaged the attention of Portugal, that court flattered itſelf that the bare appearance of their ſhips in that mild climate, would inſure the poſſeſſion of it; that the trade of theſe countries would prove as far an inexhauſtible ſource of riches to the nation, as it had been to thoſe people who had hitherto been maſters of it; and that by the treaſure ariſing from it, the ſtate, notwithſtanding its ſmall extent of territory, would become equal in ſtrength and grandeur to the moſt formidable powers. There were ſome, however, who were not miſled by theſe deluſive hopes. The moſt penetrating and moderate of the miniſters ventured to affirm, that the conſequence of running in ſearch of rich minerals, and glittering merchandiſe, would be an inattention to objects of real advantage, agriculture, and manufactures; that wars, ſhipwrecks, epidemical diſeaſes, and other accidents, would weaken the whole empire beyond recovery; that the ſtate thus carried out from its centre by the impulſe of an extravagant ambition, would either by force or art attract the ſubjects to the moſt diſtant parts of Aſia; that even if this enterprize ſucceeded, it would raiſe a powerful confederacy, which it would be impoſſible for the crown of

BOOK I.

Portugal to defeat. Attempts were in vain made, ſome time after this, to convince theſe diſcerning men of their error, by ſhewing them that the Indians were ſubdued; the Moors repulſed, and the Turks defeated: and by exhibiting the tide of wealth that flowed into Portugal. Their opinions were too well grounded in experience to be ſhaken by the report of theſe flattering ſucceſſes. They ſtill inſiſted that a few years would diſcover the folly of puſhing theſe purſuits to extremity, and that they muſt inevitably lead to a corruption of morals, and end in ravages and univerſal confuſion. Time, the great arbiter of political matters, has ſince ſhewn the truth of their predictions.

Preſent ſtate of the Portugueſe affairs in India.

OF all the conqueſts which the Portugueſe had made in India, they poſſeſs none at preſent but Macao, Diu, and Goa; and the united importance of theſe three ſettlements, in their intercourſe with India and Portugal, is very inconſiderable.

MACAO annually ſends two veſſels to Goa laden with china and other goods, that are rejected at Canton; the owners of which are generally Chineſe merchants. Theſe ſhips bring back as much of the ſandal, Indian ſaffron, ginger and pepper, as the two frigates belonging to Goa are able to procure on the ſouthern coaſt. The veſſel which trades to the north carries a part of the cargo that comes from China to Surat, where it takes in ſome linens, and completes its lading at Diu, which is not what it was formerly. A ſhip arrives every year from Europe, which procures at Goa a ſmall and indifferent cargo, conſiſting of goods picked up from China, Guzarat, and a few Engliſh counting houſes, and ſells them at Moſambique, Braſil, Angola, or the capital.

SUCH is the declining ſtate into which the Portugueſe affairs in India are fallen, from that pinnacle of glory to which they had been raiſed by the bold adventurers who

who diſcovered, and the intrepid heroes who conquered that country. The ſcene of their glory and opulence is become that of their ruin and diſgrace. Their ſituation, however, is not ſo deſperate as it may appear. Their remaining poſſeſſions are more than ſufficient to intitle them to a large ſhare in the affairs of India. But this change can only be effected by the aids of philoſophy and a ſpirit of liberty. If the Portugueſe knew their true intereſts, if their ports were declared free, and thoſe who ſettled in them had their fortunes and the liberty of conſcience ſecured to them, Indians who are now oppreſſed by their government, and the Europeans who are injured by their monopolizing companies, would reſort to their ſettlements in great numbers, and their flag, which has long been deſpiſed, would again become reſpectable. Its power cannot, however, be equal to that of the Dutch, a perſevering and conſiderate people, whoſe enterprizes we are going to relate.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

BOOK II.

The ſettlements, wars, policy, and trade of the Dutch in the Eaſt-Indies.

BOOK II.

THE republic of Holland, has, from its firſt riſe, been an object of univerſal admiration, and cannot fail to engage the curioſity and attention of the remoteſt poſterity. The inhabitants have every where diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their induſtry and enterprizing genius; but are particularly celebrated for their knowledge of maritime affairs, and their expeditions to the continent of India. But before we attend them in their progreſs to theſe opulent and extenſive regions, let us trace their hiſtory to its earlieſt æra. Such a retroſpect is peculiarly proper in a work of this nature, as it will comprehend at one glance, all thoſe characteriſtic marks by which the genius of a nation is diſtinguiſhed. It is neceſſary that a reader who reflects may be enabled to judge of himſelf if the original ſtate of this nation were ſuch as afforded a preſage of its future power; and whether the heroic aſſociates of Civilis, who defied the Roman power, did not transfuſe their ſpirit into thoſe brave republicans, who, under the auſpices of Naſſau, oppoſed the dark and odious tyranny of Philip the Second.

Ancient revolutions in Holland.

IT is a fact eſtabliſhed by the beſt hiſtorical authority, that in the century preceding the chriſtian æra, the Battæ, diſſatisfied with their ſituation in Heſſe, ſettled upon the

the iſland formed by the Naal and the Rhine; which was marſhy, and had few or no inhabitants. They gave the name of Batavia to their new country. Their government was a mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy. Their chief was, properly ſpeaking, nothing more than a principal citizen, whoſe office was rather to adviſe than to command. The principal men who exerciſed juriſdiction and commanded the troops in their reſpective diſtricts, were choſen, as well as the kings, in a general aſſembly. A hundred perſons, ſelected from among the people, preſided over every country, and acted as chiefs in the different hamlets. The whole nation was, in ſome meaſure, an army always in readineſs. Each family compoſed a body of militia, which ſerved under a captain of its own chuſing.

SUCH was the ſtate of Batavia, when Cæſar paſſed the Alps. This Roman general defeated the Helvetians, ſeveral tribes of the Gauls, the Belgæ and Germans, who had croſſed the Rhine, and extended his conqueſts beyond that river. In conſequence of this expedition the boldneſs and ſucceſs of which were equally aſtoniſhing, the protection of the conqueror was courted on all ſides.

SOME writers, too zealous for the honour of their country, affirm that the Batavians entered into an alliance with Rome; but the truth is, they ſubmitted on condition that they ſhould be governed by their own laws, pay no tribute, and be obliged only to perform military ſervices.

CÆSAR ſoon diſtinguiſhed the Batavians from the other nations that were ſubdued by the Romans. This conqueror of the Gauls, when by Pompey's influence he was recalled to Rome, and refuſed to obey the ſenate's orders; when relying on the abſolute authority which his conduct had at length given him over the legions and

BOOK II.

and auxiliaries, he attacked his enemies in Spain, Italy, and Asia: at this juncture, sensible that the Batavians had a principal share in his victories, he gave them the glorious appellation of *the friends and brethren of the Romon people.*

After this, irritated by the unjust proceedings of certain governors, they obeyed the dictates of that noble impulse, so becoming men of spirit, which prompts them to take arms to revenge an insult. They shewed themselves as formidable as enemies, as they were faithful as allies; but these troubles subsiding, the Batavians were pacified, but not subdued.

When Rome, after having risen to a pitch of greatness unknown before, and which has never since been equalled by any state, no longer retained those manly virtues and strict principles which were the ground-work of that noble superstructure; when their laws had lost their force, their armies, their discipline, and the citizens the love of their country: the barbarians, who by the terror of the Roman name had been driven to the north where they had been confined by force to remain, poured like a torrent into the southern countries. The empire was torn in pieces, and the finest provinces became a prey to those whom the Romans had always either degraded or oppressed. The Franks, in particular, seized upon the countries belonging to the Gauls; and Batavia became a part of that extensive and famous kingdom, which was founded by these conquerors in the fifth century.

The new monarchy experienced those inconveniences which are almost inseparable from rising states; and are indeed too frequently felt in the best established governments. It was sometimes under the dominion of a single person; and at others was subject to the caprice of a number of tyrants. It was constantly engaged either

ther in foreign wars, or expoſed to the rage of inteſtine diſſenſions. Sometimes it made the neighbouring ſtates tremble for their ſafety; but much oftener ſuffered from the incurſions of the northern people who ravaged its provinces. It was equally the victim of the weakneſs of ſeveral of its princes, and of the unbounded ambition of their favourites and miniſters. The overbearing ſpirit of the pontiffs, undermined the power of the throne, and their inſolence brought both the laws and religion into diſgrace. Anarchy and tyranny followed each other ſo cloſe, that the moſt ſanguine deſpaired of ever ſeeing affairs put upon a tolerable footing. The glorious æra of Charlemagne's government was only a tranſient gleam of light. As his great actions were the effect of his genius, and not in the leaſt owing to the influence of any good inſtitutions; after his death, affairs returned to that ſtate of confuſion from which they had been retrieved by his father Pepin, and more particularly by his own endeavours. The French monarchy, the limits of which he had extended too far, was divided. Germany to which the Rhine ſerved as a natural barrier, fell to the ſhare of one of his grandſons: and, by an unaccountable arrangement, Batavia, to which the Normans in their excurſions, had a little before given the name of Holland, was included in that allotment.

In the beginning of the tenth century, the German branch of the Carlovinians became extinct. As the other princes of France had neither courage nor power to aſſert their rights, the Germans eaſily diſengaged themſelves from a foreign yoke. Thoſe of the nation, who, by virtue of a delegated power from the monarch, governed the five circles of which the ſtate was compoſed, choſe a chief out of their own body. This chief, fearing leſt theſe powerful men might be tempted to throw off their dependance, if any ſeverer conditions were

BOOK II.

were required of them, contented himſelf with their fidelity and homage, and exacted only ſuch ſervices as they were obliged to by the feudal laws.

At this memorable juncture, the counts of Holland, who, as well as the reſt of the provincial chiefs, had hitherto exerciſed a precarious and dependent authority, obtained the ſame rights as the other great vaſſals of Germany: and as they afterwards enlarged their territories by conqueſt, marriages, and grants from the emperors, they in time became totally independent of the empire. They were not equally ſucceſsful in their unjuſt attempts againſt the public liberty. Their ſubjects were not to be intimidated by force, cajoled by flattery, or corrupted by largeſſes. War and peace, taxes, laws, and treaties were managed by the three united powers of the count, the nobles, and the towns. The republican ſpirit ſtill prevailed in the nation, when by ſome extraordinary events, it fell under the dominion of the houſe of Burgundy, whoſe former power, though before conſiderable, was greatly ſtrengthened by this reunion.

Thoſe who had the ſagacity to inveſtigate probabilities, foreſaw, that this ſtate, which was formed as it were by the gradual accretion of many others, would one day be of great weight in the political ſyſtem of Europe. The genius of its inhabitants, its advantageous ſituation, and its real ſtrength, afforded almoſt a certain proſpect of its future greatneſs. Theſe projects and expectations which were juſt ripening into realities, were diſappointed by an event, which though it happens every day, never fails to baffle the deſigns of ambition. The male line in that houſe became extinct; and Mary, who was ſole heireſs to its dominions, by her marriage in 1477, transferred to the houſe of Auſtria the advantages that had been gained by ſeveral ſtruggles,

gles, a great number of intrigues, and ſome acts of injuſtice.

At this æra, ſo famous in hiſtory, each of the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries had particular laws, extenſive privileges, and almoſt a diſtinct government. The excellent principle of union which equally contributes to the welfare and ſecurity both of empires and republics, was univerſally diſregarded. The people having been, from time immemorial, accuſtomed to this ſtate of confuſion, had no idea that it was poſſible to enjoy a more rational form of government. This prejudice was of ſo long a ſtanding, ſo generally adopted, and ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that Maximilian, Philip and Charles, the three Auſtrian princes who firſt inherited the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy, thought it prudent not to attempt any innovation. They flattered themſelves, that ſome happier conjuncture might enable their ſucceſſors to execute with ſafety a plan, which they could not even attempt without danger.

Riſe of the republic of Holland.

At this time a great change was preparing in the minds of men in Europe. The revival of letters, the extenſion of commerce, the invention of printing and the diſcovery of the compaſs, brought on the æra when human reaſon was to ſhake off the yoke of ſome of thoſe prejudices which had gained ground in the barbarous ages.

The intelligent part of the world were for the moſt part cured of the Romiſh ſuperſtitions. They were diſguſted at the abuſe the popes made of their authority; the contributions they raiſed upon the people; the ſale of indulgences; and more particularly at thoſe abſurd refinements with which they had diſguiſed the ſimple religion of Jeſus Chriſt.

But theſe diſcerning people were not the firſt who attempted a revolution. This honour was reſerved for a tur-

BOOK II.

a turbulent monk, whoſe barbarous eloquence rouzed the northern nations. Some of the moſt enlightened men of the age, contributed to undeceive the reſt. Some of the European princes embraced the reformed religion; others held communion with the church of Rome. The former found no difficulty in bringing over their ſubjects to their opinions; while the latter had much ado to prevent theirs from embracing the new doctrines. They had recourſe to a variety of meaſures which were too often purſued with rigour. That ſpirit of fanaticiſm, which had deſtroyed the Saxons, the Albigenſes, and the Huſſites, was revived. Gibbets were erected and fires kindled anew, to check the progreſs of the new doctrine.

No ſovereign was ſo ready to make uſe of theſe expedients as Philip II. His tyranny was felt in every part of his extenſive monarchy; and his zeal for his religion prompted him to perſecute all thoſe who fell under the denomination of heretics or infidels. Deſigns were formed to deprive the inhabitants of the Low Countries of their privileges; and millions of citizens were condemned to the ſcaffold. The people revolted: and the ſame ſcene was renewed which the Venetians had ſhewn the world many centuries before, when flying from oppreſſion, and finding no retreat upon land, they ſought an aſylum upon the waters. Seven ſmall provinces lying on the northern ſide of Brabant and Flanders, which were rather overflowed than watered by large rivers, and often covered by the ſea, whoſe violence was with difficulty reſtrained by dikes; having no wealth but what accrued from a few paſture-lands, and a little fiſhing; formed one of the richeſt and moſt powerful republics in the world; and which may, perhaps, be conſidered as the model of commercial ſtates. The firſt efforts of this united people had not the deſired

ſired ſucceſs; but though they were frequently defeated, they ended with victories. The Spaniſh troops they had to encounter, were the beſt in Europe, and at firſt gained ſeveral advantages. But by degrees the new republicans recovered their loſſes. They reſiſted with firmneſs; and gaining experience from their own miſcarriages, as well as from the example of their enemies, they at length became their ſuperiors in the art of war: and the neceſſity they lay under of diſputing every inch of ground in ſo confined a country as Holland, gave them opportunities of improving the art of fortifying a country or a town in the beſt manner.

THE weak ſtate of Holland, at its riſe, obliged it to ſeek for arms and aſſiſtance from every quarter where there was any proſpect of obtaining it. It granted an aſylum to pirates of all nations, with a view of employing them againſt the Spaniards; and this was the foundation of their naval ſtrength. Wiſe laws, an admirable order, a conſtitution which preſerved equality among mankind, an excellent police and a ſpirit of toleration, ſoon erected this republic into a powerful ſtate. In the year 1590, the Hollanders more than once humbled the pride of the Spaniſh flag. They had already eſtabliſhed a kind of trade, the moſt ſuitable that could be to their ſituation. Their veſſels were employed as they are ſtill, in carrying the merchandize of one nation to another. The Hanſe Towns, and ſome towns in Italy, were in poſſeſſion of theſe tranſports: and the Hollanders, in competition with them, by their frugality ſoon gained the advantage. Their ſhips of war protected their merchantmen. Their merchants grew ambitious of extending their commerce: and got the trade of Liſbon into their hands, where they purchaſed Indian goods which they ſold again to all the ſtates of Europe.

PHILIP

BOOK II.

PHILIP II. having made himſelf maſter of Portugal, enjoined his new ſubjects in 1594 to hold no correſpondence with his enemies. This arbitrary prince did not foreſee that this prohibition, which he thought muſt weaken the Hollanders, would in fact render them more formidable. Had not theſe diſcerning navigators been excluded from a port, upon which the whole ſucceſs of their naval enterprizes depended, there is reaſon to believe that they would have contented themſelves with the large commerce they carried on in the European ſeas, without thinking of ſailing to remoter climates. But as it was impoſſible to preſerve their trade without the productions of the eaſt, they were forced to go beyond a ſphere which was, perhaps, too confined for a ſituation like theirs; and reſolved to ſeek their riches at the fountain-head.

The firſt voyages of the Hollanders to India.

IT appeared to be the beſt plan to fit out ſhips, and ſend them to India: but the Hollanders wanted pilots who were acquainted with the ſeas, and factors who underſtood the commerce of Aſia. They were alarmed at the danger of making long voyages, where the enemy was maſter of the coaſts, and of having their veſſels intercepted during a paſſage of ſix thouſand leagues. It was judged more adviſeable to attempt the diſcovery of a paſſage to China and Japan through the northern ſeas, which would be ſhorter as well as more wholeſome and ſecure. The Engliſh had made the attempt in vain: and the Hollanders renewed it with no better ſucceſs.

WHILE they were engaged in this enterprize, Cornelius Houtman, a merchant of that nation, a man of a penetrating and daring genius, being detained at Liſbon for debt, gave the merchants at Amſterdam to underſtand, that if they would procure his enlargement, he would communicate to them many diſcoveries he had made, which might turn to their advantage. He had

in fact informed himself of every particular relating to the passage to India, and the manner of carrying on trade in those parts. His proposals were accepted, and his debts discharged. The information he gave proving answerable to the expectations he had raised, those who had released him from his confinement, formed an association under the name of the Company of distant Countries, and gave him the command of four vessels to conduct them to India by the Cape of Good Hope.

The principal object of this voyage was to observe the coasts, the inhabitants, and the trade of different places, avoiding, as much as possible, the Portuguese settlements. Houtman reconnoitred the coasts of Africa and Brazil; made some stay at Madagascar, touched at the Maldives, and visited the islands of Sunda: where finding the country abounding in pepper, he bought a quantity of it, together with some others of the most valuable spices. His prudence procured him an alliance with the principal sovereign of Java; but the Portuguese, notwithstanding they were hated, and had no settlement upon the island, created him some enemies. Having got the better in some skirmishes he was unavoidably engaged in, he returned with his small squadron to Holland; where, though he brought little wealth, he raised much expectation. He brought away some negroes, Chinese, and inhabitants of Malabar, a young native of Malacca, a Japanese, and Abdul a pilot of the Guzurat, a man of great abilities, and perfectly well acquainted with the coast of India.

The account given by Houtman, and the discoveries made in the course of the voyage, encouraged the merchants of Amsterdam to form the plan of a settlement at Java, which, at the same time that it would throw the trade of pepper into their hands, place them near the islands that produce more valuable spices, and facilitate

BOOK II.

their communication with China and Japan, would fix them at a diſtance from the centre of that European power, which they had the moſt reaſon to dread in India. Admiral Van Neck, who was ſent upon this important expedition with eight veſſels, arrived at the iſland of Java, where he found the inhabitants prejudiced againſt his nation. They fought and negotiated by turns. Abdul the pilot, the Chineſe, and above all the hatred that prevailed againſt the Portugueſe, proved of ſervice to the Dutch. They were permitted to trade, and, in a ſhort time, fitted out four veſſels laden with ſpices and ſome linens. The admiral, with the reſt of his fleet, ſailed to the Moluccas, where he learnt that the natives of the country had forced the Portugueſe to abandon ſome places, and that they only waited for a favourable opportunity of expelling them from the reſt. He eſtabliſhed factories in ſeveral of theſe iſlands, entered into treaty with ſome of the ſovereigns, and returned to Europe laden with riches.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the joy that prevailed at his return. The ſucceſs of his voyage raiſed a freſh emulation. Societies were formed in moſt of the maritime and trading towns in the Low Countries. Theſe aſſociations ſoon became ſo numerous, that they injured each other: as the rage of purchaſing raiſed the value of commodities to an exorbitant degree in India, and the neceſſity of ſelling them made them bear a low price in Europe. They were on the point of being ruined by their own efforts, and by the want of power in each of them to reſiſt a formidable enemy, fully bent upon their deſtruction: when the government, which is ſometimes wiſer than individuals, opportunely ſtepped in to their aſſiſtance.

Eſtabliſhment of the India company.

In 1602 the ſtates general united theſe different ſocieties into one body, to which they gave the name of

Eaſt

East India company. It was inveſted with authority to make peace or war with the eaſtern princes, to erect forts, chuſe their own governors, maintain garriſons, and to nominate officers for the conduct of the police, and the adminiſtration of juſtice.

THIS company, which had no parallel in antiquity, and was the pattern of all ſucceeding ſocieties of the ſame kind, ſet out with great advantages. The private aſſociations which had been previouſly formed proved of ſervice to it by their misfortunes, and even by their miſtakes. The great number of veſſels which they fitted out had contributed to make all the branches of trade perfectly underſtood; to form many officers and ſeamen; and to encourage citizens of repute to undertake theſe foreign expeditions; perſons only of no eſtimation or fortune having been expoſed in the firſt voyages.

So many united aſſiſtances could not fail of being improved to advantage, when proſecuted with vigour; and, accordingly, the new company ſoon acquired a conſiderable degree of power. It was a new ſtate, erected within the ſtate itſelf, which enriched it, and increaſed its ſtrength abroad; but might, in time, weaken the influence of the democratical principle, which inſpires the love of equality and parſimony, of the laws, and of one's own countrymen.

SOON after its eſtabliſhment, the company fitted out for India fourteen ſhips and ſome yachts, under the command of Admiral Warwick, whom the Hollanders look upon as the founder of their commerce, and of their powerful colonies in the eaſt. He built a factory in the iſland of Java, and ſecured it by fortifications; he likewiſe built another in the territories of the king of Johor; and formed alliances with ſeveral princes in Bengal. He had frequent engagements with the Portugueſe, in which he had almoſt always the advantage. In

BOOK II.

those parts where the Portugueſe had appeared in the character of merchants only, he found it neceſſary to remove the prejudices they had raiſed againſt his countrymen, whom they had repreſented as a ſet of banditti, avowed enemies to all regal authority, and addicted to all manner of vices. The behaviour of the Hollanders and the Portugueſe ſoon convinced the people of Aſia which of theſe nations had the advantage in point of manners. A bloody war ſoon enſued between theſe two powers.

Wars of the Hollanders and Portugueſe.

THE Portugueſe had on their ſide the advantage of a thorough knowledge of theſe ſeas; they were accuſtomed to the climate, and had the aſſiſtance of ſeveral nations, which, though they hated them, were compelled through fear to fight for their oppreſſors. The Hollanders were animated by the critical ſituation of their affairs; by the hopes of procuring an abſolute and laſting independency, which at preſent they could not boaſt of; by the ambition of eſtabliſhing a vaſt commerce upon the ruins of that of their old maſters; and by the hatred which a difference in religious opinions had rendered implacable. Theſe paſſions, at the ſame time that they inſpired all the activity, ſtrength, and perſeverance neceſſary for the execution of great deſigns, did not hinder them from taking their meaſures with precaution. Their humanity and honeſty attached the people to their cauſe; and many of them ſoon declared againſt their ancient oppreſſors.

THE Hollanders were continually ſending over freſh coloniſts, ſhips and troops, while the Portugueſe were left without any forces but their own. Spain did not ſend them any fleets of merchant men, or grant them the protection of the ſquadron which had hitherto been kept in India; ſhe neither repaired their places of ſtrength, or renewed their garriſons. It ſhould ſeem

that ſhe wanted to humble her new ſubjects whom ſhe thought not ſo ſubmiſſive as might be wiſhed, and to perpetuate her authority by expoſing them to repeated loſſes. She proceeded ſtill further; and to prevent the Portugueſe from deriving any ſuccours from home, ſeized upon the inhabitants and ſent them to Italy, Flanders, and other countries where ſhe was at war.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the ſcale continued even for a long time, and the ſucceſs was various on both ſides. Nor is this at all ſurprizing. The Portugueſe, on their arrival in India, had nothing to encounter at ſea but a few weak veſſels, ill built, ill armed and ill defended; nothing by land but effeminate men, voluptuous princes and daſtardly ſlaves: whereas thoſe who came to wreſt the ſceptre of Aſia out of their hands, had veſſels to board of the ſame conſtruction as their own; regular fortreſſes to aſſault, and to conquer and ſubdue Europeans, grown haughty by a long ſeries of victories, and by being the founders of an immenſe empire.

THE time was now come, when the Portugueſe were to expiate their perfidy, their robberies and their cruelties: and the prediction of one of the kings of Perſia was fulfilled, who aſking an ambaſſador juſt arrived at Goa, how many governors his maſter had beheaded ſince the eſtabliſhment of his power in India, received for anſwer, *None at all. So much the worſe*, replied the monarch, *his authority cannot be of long duration in a country where ſo many acts of outrage and barbarity are committed.*

IT does not, however, appear, in the courſe of this war, that the Hollanders poſſeſſed that daring raſhneſs, that unſhaken intrepidity, which had marked the enterprizes of the Portugueſe; but there was a conſiſtency and unremitting perſeverance obſervable in all their de-

BOOK II.

ſigns. Often repulſed, but never diſcouraged, they renewed their attempts with freſh vigour and on a better plan. They never expoſed themſelves to the danger of a total defeat. If, in any engagement, their ſhips had ſuffered, they ſheered off; and as they never loſt ſight of their commercial intereſts, the vanquiſhed fleet, while it was repairing on the coaſts belonging to ſome of the Indian princes, purchaſed merchandiſe, and returned to Holland. By this method the company acquired a new fund which enabled them to undertake freſh enterprizes. If the Hollanders did not always perform great actions, they never attempted uſeleſs ones. They had neither the pride nor the vain glory of the Portugueſe, who had frequently engaged in war rather perhaps through the love of fame than of power. The Hollanders ſteadily purſued their firſt plan without ſuffering themſelves to be diverted from it either by motives of revenge, or projects of conqueſt.

In the year 1607, they endeavoured to open a communication with the ports belonging to the vaſt empire of China, which, at that time, was cautious of admitting ſtrangers. The Portugueſe found means, by bribery, and the intrigues of their miſſionaries, to get the Hollanders excluded. They reſolved to extort by force what they could not obtain by intreaty, and determined to intercept the veſſels belonging to the Chineſe. This piratical proceeding did not anſwer their expectations. A Portugueſe fleet ſailed from Macao to attack the pirates who thought proper to retire. The inequality of their numbers, the impoſſibility of refitting in ſeas where they had no ſhelter, and the fear of committing the character of their nation in the eyes of a great empire whoſe good opinion it was their intereſt to preſerve; all theſe conſiderations determined them to decline the rencounter: but this was only for a ſhort time.

Some

SOME years after the Hollanders beſieged a place of which they had learned the importance. The enterprize did not ſuccced; but as they never loſt any advantage that could be gained by their armaments, they ſent that which they had employed againſt Macao to form a colony in the Piſcadore-iſles. Theſe are rocks where no water is to be had in dry ſeaſons, and no proviſions at any time. Theſe inconveniences were not counterbalanced by any ſolid advantages, becauſe the people of the neighbouring continent were forbidden, on the ſevereſt penalties, to hold any correſpondence with ſtrangers which might be dangerous ſo near the coaſts. The Hollanders had determined to abandon a ſettlement which they deſpaired of making uſeful, when, in the year 1624, they were invited to fix at Formoſa, and had aſſurances given them that the Chineſe merchants would be allowed full liberty to go there and trade with them.

The Hollanders form a ſettlement at Formoſa.

THIS iſland, though it lies oppoſite to the province of Fokien, at the diſtance of only thirty leagues from the coaſt, was not ſubject to the dominion of the Chineſe, whoſe genius does not incline them to conqueſt, and who, through an inhuman and ill-judged policy, would rather ſuffer a decreaſe of population, than tranſplant their ſupernumerary ſubjects to the neighbouring countries. Formoſa was found to be a hundred and thirty or forty leagues in circumference. Its inhabitants, if we may judge from their manners and their appearance, ſeemed to be deſcended from the Tartars in the moſt northern part of Aſia: and probably found their way through the country of Corea. They lived chiefly by fiſhing and hunting, and went almoſt naked.

THE Hollanders, having, without difficulty informed themſelves of every particular that prudence ſuggeſted, thought it moſt adviſeable to fix their ſettlement on a

BOOK II.

ſmall iſland that lay contiguous to the larger one. This ſituation afforded them three conſiderable advantages; they could eaſily defend themſelves if hatred or jealouſy ſhould incline their neighbours to give them any diſturbance; the two iſlands afforded them an harbour, and they could eaſily carry on a ſafe communication with China during the Monſoons; which they could not have done in any other poſition they could have pitched upon.

THE new colony inſenſibly gained ſtrength without attracting any notice, 'till it roſe at once to a degree of conſequence that aſtoniſhed all Aſia. This unexpected proſperity was owing to the conqueſt of China by the Tartars. Thus it is that torrents enrich the vallies with the ſtores they carry down from the deſolated mountains. Above a hundred thouſand Chineſe, who reſolved not to ſubmit to the conqueror, fled for refuge to Formoſa. They carried with them that activity which is peculiar to their character, the manner of cultivating rice and ſugar, and were the means of drawing thither from their own nation an infinite number of veſſels. In a ſhort time the iſland became the centre of all the correſpondence that was carried on between Java, Siam, the Philippine iſlands, China, Japan and the reſt of thoſe countries; and in a few years was conſidered as the firſt mart in India. The Hollanders flattered themſelves with the proſpect of ſtill greater advantages; but fortune deceived their expectations.

A CHINESE, called Equam, of obſcure birth, whoſe turbulent diſpoſition had made him turn pirate, had attained, by the ſtrength of his talents, to the rank of high-admiral. He defended his country againſt the Tartars for a conſiderable time, but ſeeing his maſter obliged to ſubmit, he endeavoured to make terms for himſelf

himſelf with the conquerors. He was decoyed to Pekin where he was ſeized, and condemned by the uſurper to perpetual impriſonment, in which he is ſuppoſed to have died of poiſon. Coxinga ſaved himſelf on board his father's fleet, vowed eternal enmity to the oppreſſors of his family and country, and concluded he ſhould be able to take the ſevereſt revenge upon them, if he made himſelf maſter of Formoſa. He made a deſcent upon it, and the miniſter Hambroeck was taken priſoner in the attempt. BOOK II.

Being appointed with ſome other priſoners to be ſent to the fort of Zealand, to prevail with his countrymen to capitulate, this republican called to mind the example of Regulus; he exhorted them to be firm, and uſed every argument to perſuade them that if they ſtrenuouſly perſevered, they would oblige the enemy to retire. The garriſon being aware that this generous man would, on his return to the camp, fall a ſacrifice to his magnanimity, uſed their utmoſt efforts to detain him. Their remonſtrances were ſeconded by the tendereſt ſolicitations of two of his daughters, who were in the citadel. His anſwer was, *I have pledged my honour to return to my confinement: I hold myſelf obliged to perform my promiſe. My memory ſhall never be ſullied with the reproach, that out of regard to my own ſafety I was the cauſe of ſeverer treatment, or perhaps of death, to the companions of my misfortune.* After this heroic ſpeech he calmly returned to the Chineſe camp, and the ſiege began.

Notwithstanding the fortifications were in a bad condition, and the fort ill ſtored with ammunition and proviſions; notwithſtanding the garriſon was weak, and the ſuccours ſent to attack the enemy had retreated with diſgrace, Coyet the governor made an obſtinate defence. In the beginning of the year 1662, being forced

BOOK II.

forced to capitulate, he repaired to Batavia, where his ſuperiors had recourſe to thoſe iniquitous ſtate-intrigues which are frequently practiſed in all governments. They caſt reflections upon his conduct, to prevent any ſuſpicion that the loſs of ſo important a ſettlement was owing to their own folly, or negligence. The attempts made to recover it, proved unſucceſsful; and the Hollanders were at laſt reduced to the neceſſity of carrying on a trade with Canton on the ſame conditions, and under the ſame reſtrictions as other nations.

IT may appear ſomewhat ſingular, that ſince the year 1683 when Formoſa fell under the dominion of China, no Europeans have ever attempted to form any ſettlement there, upon the ſame conditions at leaſt, as that of the Portugueſe at Macao. But beſides that the ſuſpicious temper of the nation to whom that iſland belongs, gives no room to expect ſuch a piece of complaiſance from them, one may venture to pronounce that ſuch an enterpriſe would be a bad one. Formoſa was a place of importance only ſo long as the Japaneſe had a communication with it, and its produce was allowed a free importation into Japan.

THE Hollanders ſeemed to be for ever excluded from this empire. After ſome unſucceſsful attempts, they began to deſpair of getting any footing there; when one of their captains, who was thrown upon the coaſts of Japan by a ſtorm in 1609, informed them that the people were favourably diſpoſed towards them.

Trade of the Hollanders to Japan.

ABOUT a century before this, the government of Japan had been changed. A magnanimous people had been made furious by a tyrant. Taycoſama who from a ſoldier became a general, and from a general an emperor, had uſurped the whole power, and aboliſhed all the rights of the people. Having ſtripped the Dairo of

the

the little remains of his authority, he had reduced all the petty princes of the country under his ſubjection. Tyranny is arrived at its height when it eſtabliſhes deſpotiſm by law. Taycoſama went ſtill further, and ſtrengthened it by ſanguinary laws. His civil legiſlation was actually a code of criminal proſecutions, exhibiting nothing but ſcaffolds, puniſhments, criminals, and executioners.

THE Japaneſe, alarmed at this proſpect of ſlavery, had recourſe to arms. Torrents of blood were ſhed throughout the empire: and though liberty might be ſuppoſed to be ſuperior in courage to tyranny, the latter triumphed over it. Tyranny became ſtill more ferocious, when animated by the ſpirit of revenge. An inquiſition, public as well as private, diſmayed the citizens; they became ſpies, informers, accuſers, and enemies to each other. An error in the adminiſtration of the police was conſtrued into a crime againſt the ſtate; and an unguarded expreſſion was made high-treaſon. Perſecution aſſumed the character of legiſlation. Three ſucceſſive generations were doomed to welter in their own blood; and rebel parents gave life to a proſcribed poſterity.

DURING a whole century, Japan reſembled a dungeon filled with criminals, or a place of execution. The throne, which was planted upon the ruins of the altar, was ſurrounded with gibbets. The ſubjects were become as cruel as their tyrant. They ſought, with a ſtrange avidity, to procure death, by committing crimes which were readily ſuggeſted under a deſpotic government. For want of executioners, they puniſhed themſelves for the loſs of liberty, or revenged themſelves of tyranny by putting an end to their own exiſtence. To enable them to face death, and to aſſiſt them in ſuffering it, they derived new courage from chriſtianity, which the Portugueſe had introduced amongſt them.

THE

BOOK II.

THE oppreſſions the Japaneſe laboured under afforded an opportunity for the profeſſors of this new worſhip to make numerous proſelytes. The miſſionaries who preached a ſuffering religion, were liſtened to with attention. In vain did the doctrine of Confucious try to gain reception among a people who bordered upon China. Some erroneous tenets of chriſtianity, which bore a conſiderable affinity to thoſe of the Budzoiſts, and the penances, equally enjoined by the two ſyſtems, procured the Portugueſe miſſionaries ſeveral proſelytes. But ſetting aſide this reſemblance, the Japaneſe would have choſen to embrace chriſtianity merely from a motive of hatred to the prince.

IF the new religion was diſcountenanced at court, it could not fail to meet with a favourable reception in the families of the dethroned princes. It added freſh fuel to their reſentment: they were fond of a ſtrange God whom the tyrant did not love. Taycoſama ruled with a rod of iron, and perſecuted the chriſtians as enemies to the ſtate. He proſcribed the doctrines imported from Europe, and this proſcription made them ſtrike the deeper root. Piles were kindled, and millions of victims threw themſelves into the flames. The emperors of Japan tranſcended thoſe of Rome in the art of perſecuting the chriſtians. During the ſpace of forty years the ſcaffolds were ſtained with the innocent blood of martyrs. This proved the ſeed of chriſtianity, and of ſedition alſo. Near forty thouſand chriſtians in the kingdom or province of Darima took up arms in the name, and for the name of Chriſt; and defended themſelves with ſuch fury, that not a ſingle perſon ſurvived the ſlaughter occaſioned by perſecution.

THE navigation, trade, and factories of the Portugueſe were preſerved during this great criſis. The court

court and the people had, however, for a long time, been jealous of them; they had incurred the ſuſpicion of government by their ambition, their intrigues, and perhaps by their ſecret conſpiracies: and had rendered themſelves odious to the people by their avarice, their pride, and their treachery. But as the merchandiſe they brought was grown into faſhion, and could not be procured by any other channel, they were not excluded from Japan till the end of the year 1638; when other merchants were in a ſituation to ſupply their place.

The Hollanders, who had, for ſome time, entered into competition with them, were not involved in the diſgrace. As theſe republicans had never ſhewn themſelves ambitious of interfering with the government; as they had ſuffered their artillery to be employed againſt the chriſtians; as they were at war with the proſcribed nation; as their ſtrength was not thoroughly known, and they appeared to be reſerved, pliant, modeſt, and intirely devoted to commerce; they were tolerated, though at the ſame time they were ſubjected to great reſtraints. Three years after, whether it was that the ſpirit of intrigue and dominion ſeized them, or, which is more probable, that no conduct whatever could prevent the Japaneſe from harbouring ſuſpicions, they were deprived of the liberty and the privileges they enjoyed.

Ever ſince the year 1641, they have been confined to the artificial iſland of Diſnia, raiſed in the harbour of Nangaſaque, and which has a communication with the the city bridge. As ſoon as they arrive, their ſhips are ſtripped, and their powder, muſkets, ſwords, guns, and even rudder, carried aſhore. In this kind of impriſonment they are treated with a degree of contempt which is beyond conception; and can tranſact no buſineſs but with commiſſaries appointed to regulate the price

BOOK II.

price and the quantity of their merchandiſe. It is impoſſible that the tameneſs with which they have endured this treatment more than a century, ſhould not have leſſened them in the eyes of the nation, who is witneſs of it; and that the love of gain ſhould have produced ſuch an extreme inſenſibility to inſults, without tarniſhing their character.

THE chief commodities which the Dutch carry to Japan are European cloths, ſilks, ſpices, printed linen, ſugar, and dyer's wood. Theſe articles were formerly of conſiderable importance. In the very year of the company's diſgrace, its returns amonnted to ſixteen millions: (700,000*l.*) but the ſhackles, which from time to time have been impoſed upon it, have gradually reduced their once flouriſhing trade to nothing. The cargo of the two veſſels they ſend annually, cannot be ſold for more than a million. (43,750*l.*) They receive in payment eleven thouſand cheſts of copper, at forty-one livres four ſols (1*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.* ½.) per cheſt, which weighs one hundred and twenty pounds. Their expences, including preſents and the charge of the embaſſy they ſend every year to the emperor, generally amount to two hundred and eighty thouſand livres, (12,250*l.*) and their profits do not exceed three hundred and ten thouſand; (about 131,687*l.*) ſo that if the company gains forty thouſand livres, (1,750*l.*) it is reckoned a good year.

THE trade of the Chineſe, who, except the Hollanders, are the only foreigners admitted into the empire, is not more extenſive than theirs, and ſubjected to the ſame reſtrictions. Ever ſince the year 1688 they are confined during the continuance of the ſale of their goods, without the walls of Nangaſaque, in a kind of priſon, which is divided into ſeveral huts, ſurrounded with

with a paliſade, and defended by a good ditch, and a guard placed at all the gates. Theſe precautions have been taken in conſequence of a diſcovery that ſome works, in favour of chriſtianity, had been ſold together with ſome books of philoſophy and morality. The European miſſionaries had ordered ſome people of Canon to circulate them, and the deſire of gain betrayed them into a piece of chicanery, which has coſt them very dear.

It is natural to ſuppoſe, that thoſe who have changed the ancient government of the country into the moſt arbitrary tyranny upon earth, would look upon all intercourſe with ſtrangers as dangerous to their authority. There is the more reaſon for this conjecture, as the inhabitants are all forbidden, on pain of death, to go out of their country. This rigorous edict is become the fundamental maxim of the empire.

Thus the inhuman policy of the ſtate has deprived it of the only means of acquiring a milder temper, by ſoftening the national character. The Japaneſe, fiery as his climate, and reſtleſs as the ocean that ſurrounds him, required that the utmoſt ſcope ſhould be given to his activity, which could only be done by encouraging a briſk trade. To prevent the neceſſity of reſtraining him by puniſhments, it was neceſſary to keep him in exerciſe by conſtant labour; and to allow his vivacity an uninterrupted career abroad, when it was in danger of kindling the flame of ſedition at home. That energy of mind which has degenerated into fanaticiſm, would have been improved into induſtry; contemplation would have changed into action; and the fear of puniſhment into the love of pleaſure. Inſtead of leading a deteſted life, fettered, abuſed, and maddened by a conſtant ſtruggle with the ſevere reſtraints of law, the

BOOK II.

the Japaneſe would have been led by curioſity to traverſe the ocean, and viſit foreign nations. By a frequent change of place and climate he would inſenſibly have changed his manners, opinions, and character; and this change would have been as happy for him as it is for the generality of people. What he may chance to loſe by this intercourſe as a citizen, he will gain as a man: but the Japaneſe are become tygers through the cruelty of their tyrants.

WHATEVER may be ſaid in praiſe of the Spartans, the Egyptians, and other diſtinct nations, who have owed their ſuperior ſtrength, grandeur, and permanency to the ſtate of ſeparation in which they kept themſelves; human kind has received no benefit from theſe ſingular inſtitutions. On the contrary, the ſpirit of intercourſe is uſeful to all nations, as it promotes a mutual communication of their productions and knowledge. In a word, if it were uſeleſs or pernicious to ſome particular people, it was neceſſary for the Japaneſe. By commerce they would have become enlightened in China, civilized in India, and cured of all their prejudices among the Europeans.

The Moluccas ſubmit to the Dutch.

THE Dutch had the good fortune to have reſources which indemnified them for the loſs they had ſuſtained at Japan. They had not yet entertained in commerce with theſe, the moſt remarkable iſlands in the torrid Zone, when they attempted to ſecure to themſelves that of the Moluccas. The Portugueſe, who had long been in poſſeſſion of them, were obliged to ſhare their advantages with their maſters the Spaniards; and, at length, to give up the trade almoſt entirely to them. The two nations, divided in their intereſts, and perpetually at war with each other, becauſe the government had neither leiſure nor art to remove their mutual antipathy, united to oppoſe the ſubject of the United

United Provinces. The latter, assisted by the natives of the country, who had not yet learned to fear or hate them, by degrees gained the superiority. The ancient conquerors were driven, out about the year 1627; and their place was supplied by others equally avaritious, though less turbulent, and better instructed.

As soon as the Dutch had established themselves firmly at the Moluccas, they endeavoured to get the exclusive trade of spices into their own hands: an advantage, which the nation they had just expelled was never able to procure. They skilfully availed themselves both of the forts they had taken sword in hand, and those they had imprudently been suffered to erect, to draw the kings of Ternate and Tidor, who were masters of this Archipelago, into their scheme. These princes found themselves obliged to consent, that the clove and nutmeg trees should be rooted up in the islands that were still under their dominion. The first of these sceptered slaves, in consideration of this great sacrifice, received a pension of 64,500 livres (about 2,821*l.*); and the other one of about 12,000. (525*l.*) A garrison of seven hundred men was appointed to secure the performance of this treaty: and to so low an ebb was the power of these kings reduced by war, tyranny, and misfortunes, that these forces would be more than sufficient to keep them in this state of dependance, if it were not necessary to have an eye upon the Philippine islands, whose vicinity constantly occasions some alarm. Notwithstanding the inhabitants are prohibited from carrying on any navigation, and that no foreign nation is admitted among them; the Dutch trade there is in a languishing state; as they have no means of exchange, nor any silver but what they carry over to pay their troops, their commissioners and pensions. This government, deducting the small

BOOK II.

profits, coſts the company 140,000 livres (6125*l.*) a year.

THIS loſs is fully compenſated at Amboyna, where they have engroſſed the cultivation of cloves. The tree that produces them is, as to its bark, very much like the olive-tree, and reſembles the laurel in its height and the ſhape of its leaves. It produces at the extremity of its numerous branches, a prodigious quantity of flowers, which are white at firſt, then green, and at laſt grow red and pretty hard. When they arrive at this degree of maturity, they are, properly ſpeaking, cloves. As it dries, the clove aſſumes a dark yelloviſh caſt; when gathered, it becomes of a deep brown. No verdure is ever ſeen under this plant, which is doubtleſs owing to its exhauſting all the nutritious juices of the ſoil that produces it.

THE ſeaſon for gathering the cloves is from October to February. They ſhake the boughs of the tree forcibly, or beat down the cloves with long reeds. Large cloths are ſpread to receive them, and they are afterwards either dried in the ſun, or in the ſmoke of the bamboo cane.

THE cloves which eſcape the notice of thoſe who gather them, or are purpoſely left upon the tree, continue to grow till they are about an inch in thickneſs, and theſe falling off, produce new plants, which do not bear in leſs than eight or nine years. Theſe cloves, which they call mother-cloves, though inferior to the common ſort, are not without their value. The Dutch preſerve them in ſugar, and, in long voyages, eat them after meals to promote digeſtion; or make uſe of them as an agreeable remedy for the ſcurvy.

THE clove, to be in perfection, muſt be full ſized, heavy, oily and eaſily broken; of a fine ſmell, and a hot aromatic taſte, ſo as almoſt to burn the throat; it

ſhould

ſhould make the fingers ſmart when handled, and leave an oily moiſture upon them when preſſed. The principal uſe of is for culinary purpoſes. In ſome parts of Europe, and in India in particular, it is ſo much admired as to be thought an indiſpenſable ingredient in almoſt every diſh. It is put into their food, liquors, wines, and enters likewiſe into the compoſition of perfumes. It is little uſed in medicine; but there is an oil extracted from it which is in conſiderable repute.

THE company have allotted the inhabitants four thouſand parcels of land, on each of which they were at firſt allowed, and about the year 1720 compelled, to plant a hundred and twenty-five trees, amounting in the whole to five hundred thouſand. Each of theſe parcels produces annually, on an average, upwards of two pounds of cloves: and conſequently the collective produce muſt weigh more than a million.

THE cultivator is paid with the caſh that is conſtantly returned to the company, and receives ſome blue and unbleached cottons which are brought from Coromandel. This ſmall trade might, in ſome meaſure, be increaſed, if the inhabitants of Amboyna, and the ſmall iſlands that depend upon it, would have attended to the culture of pepper and indigo, which has been tried with ſucceſs. Miſerable as theſe iſlanders are, as they are not tempted by an adequate reward for their labours, they remain in a ſtate of indolence.

THE adminiſtration is ſomewhat different in the iſlands of Banda, which are thirty leagues diſtant from Amboyna. There are five of theſe iſlands, two of which are uncultivated and almoſt uninhabited; and the other three claim the diſtinction of being the only iſlands in the world that produce the nutmeg.

THE nutmeg grows to the ſame height as the pear-tree. It has a pithy wood, an aſh-coloured bark, and

BOOK II.

flexible branches. The leaves are produced in pairs upon one ſingle ſtem, and when bruiſed, emit an agreeable odour. The fruit ſucceeds the flowers, which reſemble thoſe of the cherry-tree. It is of the ſize of an egg, and of the colour of an apricot. The outer rind is very thick, and reſembles that of our nuts as they hang upon the tree, opening in the ſame manner when ripe, and diſcovering the nutmeg covered with its mace. It is then time to gather it to prevent the mace or flower of the nutmeg from growing dry, and the nutmeg from loſing that oil which preſerves it, and in which its excellence conſiſts. Thoſe that are gathered before they are perfectly ripe are preſerved in vinegar or ſugar and are admired only in Aſia.

It is nine months before this fruit comes to perfection. After it is gathered, the outer rind is ſtripped off, and the mace ſeparated from it, and laid in the ſun to dry. The nuts require more preparation. They are ſpread upon hurdles, or dried for ſix weeks by a ſlow fire, in ſheds erected for that purpoſe. They are then ſeparated from the ſhell, and thrown into lime-water, which is a neceſſary precaution to preſerve them from worms.

The nutmeg differs in goodneſs according to the age of the tree, the ſoil, the expoſition, and method of culture. It is moſt eſteemed with it is freſh, moiſt, heavy, and when it yields an oily juice upon being pricked. It helps digeſtion, expels wind, and ſtrengthens the bowels.

If we except this valuable ſpice, the iſlands of Banda, like all the Moluccas, are barren to a dreadful degree. What they produce in ſuperfluities they want in neceſſaries. The land will not bring forth any kind of corn: and the pith of ſago ſerves the natives of the country inſtead of bread.

As this food is not ſufficient for the Europeans who ſettle in the Moluccas, they are allowed to fetch proviſions from Java, Macaſſar, or the extremely fertile iſland of Bali. The company itſelf carries ſome commodities to Banda.

THIS is the only ſettlement in the Eaſt Indies that can be conſidered as an European colony; becauſe it is the only one where the Europeans are proprietors of lands. The company taking it into their heads that the inhabitants of Banda were ſavage, cruel, and treacherous, becauſe they were impatient under their yoke, reſolved to exterminate them. Their poſſeſſions were divided among the white people, who got ſlaves from ſome of the neighbouring iſlands to cultivate the lands. Theſe white people are for the moſt part Creoles or Malecontents, who have quitted the ſervice of the company. In the ſmall iſle of Roſinging, there are likewiſe ſeveral banditti, whom the laws have branded with diſgrace, and young men of abandoned principles, whoſe families wanted to get rid of them: ſo that Banda is called the *iſland of correction.* The climate is ſo unhealthy, that theſe unhappy wretches live but a ſhort time. It is on account of the loſs of ſo great a number of hands, that attempts have been made to tranſfer the culture of the nutmeg to Amboyna, and the company were likewiſe probably influenced by two other ſtrong motives of intereſt, as their trade could be carried on with leſs expence and greater ſafety. But the experiments that have been made have proved unſucceſsful, and matters remain in their former ſtate.

To ſecure to themſelves an excluſive title to the produce of the Moluccas, which are, with good reaſon, ſtiled the *gold mines* of the company, the Dutch have been under a neceſſity of forming two ſettlements, one at Timor, and the other at Celebes.

BOOK II.

The Dutch form a settlement at Timor.

THE firſt of theſe iſlands is ſixty leagues long, and fifteen or eighteen broad. It is divided into ſeveral ſovereignties; in which there are numbers of Portugueſe. Theſe conquerors, who at their firſt arrival in India, had advanced with bold and unconſcionable ſtrides, and had purſued a long and dangerous career with a rapidity which nothing could ſtop; who were ſo well accuſtomed to acts of heroiſm, that they performed the moſt arduous enterprizes with eaſe; theſe conquerors, I ſay, when they were attacked by the Dutch, when their whole empire, grown too large, and tottering under its own weight, was ready to fall, diſplayed none of thoſe virtues which had laid the foundation of their power. When they were diſpoſſeſſed of a fort, driven out of a kingdom, diſperſed in conſequence of a defeat, they ſhould have ſought an aſylum among their brethren, and ſhould have rallied under ſtandards that had hitherto been invincible; either to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the enemy, or to recover their ſettlements: but ſo far were they from forming a reſolution ſo generous, that they ſolicited ſome employment, or ſome penſion, from thoſe very Indian princes they had ſo often inſulted. Thoſe who had contracted a habit of effeminacy and idleneſs above the reſt, retreated to Timor, which, being a poor iſland, where no works of induſtry were carried on, would ſkreen them they thought from the purſuit of an enemy intent upon uſeful conqueſts. They were, however, deceived. In the year 1613 they were driven from the town of Kupan by the Dutch, who found a fort there, which they have ever ſince garriſoned with fifty men. The company ſends ſome coarſe linnens thither every year, and receives in return wax, tortoiſe ſhell, ſanders wood, and cadiang, a ſmall ſpecies of bean, commonly uſed by the Dutch on ſhipboard,

by

by way of variety of food for the crew. All theſe objects employ one or two ſloops, which are diſpatched from Batavia: nothing is either gained or loſt by this ſettlement; the profits juſt anſwer the expences. The Dutch would have abandoned Timor long ago, if they had not been apprehenſive that ſome active nation might fix there, and avail themſelves of the opportunities that ſituation would give them to diſturb the trade of the Moluccas. It was the ſame cautious principle which drew them to Celebes.

The Dutch make themſelves maſters of Celebes.

THIS iſland, which is about a hundred and thirty leagues in diameter, is very habitable, though it lies in the centre of the torrid Zone. The heats are allayed by the copious rains, and cooling breezes. The inhabitants are the braveſt people in the ſouth of Aſia; they make a furious onſet, but, after a conteſt of two hours, a total want of courage takes place of this ſtrange impetuoſity: the intoxicating fumes of opium, which are doubtleſs the cauſe of this terrible ferment, go off, when their ſtrength is exhauſted by tranſports that approach to madneſs. The *crid*, which is their favourite weapon, is a foot and a half long; it is ſhaped like a poniard, and the blade is ſerpentine. They never carry more than one to battle; but in private quarrels two are neceſſary: they parry with that in the left hand, and attack the adverſary with the other. The wounds made by this weapon are very dangerous, and the duel moſt commonly ends in the death of both the combatants.

THE inhabitants of Celebes are rendered active, induſtrious, and robuſt, by a rigid education. Every hour in the day their nurſes rub them with oil, or water juſt warm. Theſe repeated unctions encourage nature to exert herſelf freely. They are weaned at a year old, an idea prevailing, that if they continued to ſuck any longer, it would hurt their underſtandings. When they

BOOK II.

are five or six years old, the male children of any distinction are intrusted to the care of some relation or friend, that their courage may not be weakened by the caresses of their mothers, and a habit of reciprocal tenderness. They do not return to their families till they arrive at the age of fifteen or sixteen, when the law allows them to marry: a liberty they seldom make use of, before they are thoroughly versed in the exercise of arms.

FORMERLY these people acknowledged no other gods but the sun and the moon. They sacrificed to them in the public squares, having no materials which they thought valuable enough to be employed in raising temples. According to the creed of these islanders, the sun and moon were eternal as well as the heavens, whose empire they divided. Ambition set them at variance. The moon, flying from the sun, miscarried, and was delivered of the earth; she was big with several other worlds which she will successively bring forth, but without violence, in order to repair the loss of those whom the fire of her conqueror will consume.

THESE absurdities were universally received at Celebes; but they had not so lasting an influence over either the nobles or the people as is found in the religious doctrines of other nations. About two centuries ago, some christians and mahometans having brought their opinions hither, the principal king of the country took a total dislike to the national worship. Alarmed at the terrible catastrophe, with which he was equally threatened by both the new systems of religion, he convened a general assembly. On the day appointed he ascended an eminence; where spreading out his hands towards heaven, and, in a standing posture, he addressed the following prayer to the Supreme Being.

"GREAT

"GREAT God, I do not, at this time, fall down before thee, becauſe I do not implore thy clemency. I have nothing to aſk of thee which thou oughteſt not in juſtice to grant. Two foreign nations whoſe worſhip is widely different, are come to ſtrike terror into me, and my ſubjects. They aſſure me that thou wilt puniſh me eternally if I do not obey thy laws: I have therefore a right to require that thou wouldeſt make them known to me. I do not aſk thee to reveal the impenetrable myſteries that ſurround thy eſſence, and which to me are uſeleſs. I am come hither to inquire, together with my people, what thoſe duties are which thou intendeſt to preſcribe to us. Speak, O my God; ſince thou art the Author of nature, thou canſt diſcern the bottom of our hearts, and knoweſt that it is impoſſible they ſhould entertain any thoughts of diſobedience. But if thou condeſcendeſt not to make thyſelf underſtood by mortals; if it is unworthy of thine eſſence to employ the language of man to dictate the duties required of man; I call my whole nation, the ſun which enlightens me, the earth that ſupports me, the waters that encompaſs my dominions, and thyſelf to witneſs; that in the ſincerity of my heart I ſeek to know thy will: and I declare to thee this day, that I ſhall acknowledge, as the depoſitaries of thy oracles, the miniſters of either religion whom thou ſhalt cauſe to arrive the firſt in our harbours. The winds and the waves are the miniſters of thy power: let them be the ſignals of thy will. If, with theſe honeſt intentions, I embrace an error, my conſcience will be at eaſe; and the blame will lie upon thee."

THE aſſembly broke up, determined to wait the orders of heaven, and to follow the firſt miſſionaries that ſhould arrive at Celebes. The apoſtles of the Koran were

BOOK II.

were the moſt active, and the ſovereign and his people were circumciſed, and the other parts of the iſland ſoon followed their example.

THIS unlucky circumſtance did not hinder the Portugueſe from gaining a footing at Celebes. They kept their ground there, even after they were driven out of the Moluccas. The motive of their ſtay, and the arrival of the Engliſh at this place was becauſe they could eaſily procure ſpices which the natives of the country found means to get, notwithſtanding the precautions that were taken to keep them at a diſtance from the places where they grew.

THE Dutch, who by this competition, were prevented from monopolizing the articles of cloves and nutmegs, attempted in 1660 to put a ſtop to this trade which they called contraband. To favour this deſign, they had recourſe to means repugnant to all morality, but which an inſatiable avarice had familiarized in Aſia. By perſevering in theſe cruel maxims, they ſucceeded ſo far as to drive out the Portugueſe, keep off the Engliſh, and take poſſeſſion of the harbour and fort of Macaſſar. From that time they were abſolute maſters of the iſland without having conquered it. The princes among whom it was divided, re-united in a kind of confederacy. They hold aſſemblies, from time to time, on affairs that concern the general intereſt. The reſult of their determinations becomes a law to each ſtate. When any conteſt ariſes, it is decided by the governor of the Dutch colony, who preſides at this diet. He obſerves theſe different ſovereigns with a watchful eye, and keeps them in perfect equality with each other to prevent any of them from aggrandizing himſelf to the prejudice of the company. They have diſarmed them all, under pretence of hindering them from injuring each other; but in reality with a view of depriving them of the power of breaking their chains.

THE

THE Chineſe, who are the only foreigners permitted to come to Celebes, carry thither tobacco, gold wire, and unwrought ſilks. The Dutch ſell the opium, ſpirituous liquors, gum lac, fine and coarſe linens. They have but little gold from thence, but great quantities of rice, wax, ſlaves, and tripam, a ſpecies of muſhroom, which the rounder and blacker it is, the more excellent it is eſteemed. The cuſtoms bring in 80,000 livres (3,500*l.*) to the company: but it receives much larger profit from its trade, and the tenth part of the territory which it holds in full right of ſovereignty. Theſe advantages, however, taken all together, do not counterbalance the expences of the colony, which riſe to 150,000 livres (about 6,562*l.*) more. It would certainly be given up if it was not with good reaſon looked upon as the key of the ſpice iſlands.

The Dutch open a communication with Borneo.

THE ſettlement at Borneo was formed with a leſs intereſting view. It is one of the largeſt if not actually the largeſt iſland hitherto known. The ancient inhabitants live in the inland parts. The coaſts are peopled with inhabitants from Macaſſar, with Javaneſe, Malayans, and Arabs, who to the vices that are natural to them have added a ferocity hardly to be met with elſewhere. The moſt uſeful production of this large country is camphire, which is a volatile, ſubtile oil, or reſinous ſubſtance. The tree from which it is drawn, grows in ſeveral of the Aſiatic iſlands, and it has lately been diſcovered that this ſingular ſubſtance may be obtained in a greater or leſs quantity from all the trees that are of the laurel tribe.

To procure this camphire, the tree is cut into ſmall pieces, like matches, which are put into a veſſel ſhaped like a bladder: they are boiled in water, and the camphire forms a glutinous maſs at the top. The Dutch

are

BOOK II.

are the only people in Europe who poſſeſs the ſecret of refining it in the groſs.

THE camphire from Borneo is unqueſtionably the beſt of any. Its ſuperior excellence is ſo well known, that the Japaneſe give five or ſix quintals of their own for one pound of that from Borneo; and the Chineſe who look upon it as the beſt medicine in the world, give us no leſs than eight hundred livres (35*l*.) a pound for it. The Pagans in all the eaſtern countries uſe common camphire in their fire-works, and the Mahometans put it into the mouth of the dead at the time of burial.

ABOUT the year 1526 the Portugueſe attempted to ſettle at Borneo. Too weak to make their arms reſpected, they tried to gain the good-will of one of the ſovereigns of the country by offering him ſome pieces of tapeſtry. This weak prince took the figures wrought in it for inchanted men, who would ſtrangle him in the night-time, if he ſuffered them to come near his perſon. The explanations they gave to remove his apprehenſions had no effect; he obſtinately refuſed to let the preſent be brought into his palace, and prohibited the donor from entering his capital.

HOWEVER, theſe voyagers afterwards gained admiſſion; but it proved their misfortune, for they were all maſſacred. A factory which the Engliſh eſtabliſhed ſome years after ſhared the ſame fate. The Dutch, who had met with no better treatment, appeared again, in the year 1748, with a ſquadron, which, though very weak, ſo far impoſed upon the prince, who has the pepper entirely in his hands, that he determined to grant them the privilege of trading for it excluſively: with this ſingle reſerve, that he ſhould be allowed to deliver five hundred thouſand pounds of this article to the Chineſe; who had always frequented his ports. Since this treaty, the company ſends rice, opium, ſalt, and

and coarſe linens to Bendermaſſen, from whence they bring ſome diamonds, and about ſix hundred thouſand weight of pepper at one and thirty livres (1*l.* 7*s.* 0*d.*$\frac{1}{4}$) a hundred weight. The profits ariſing from the goods they export are ſcarce ſufficient to anſwer the expences of the colony, though they amount to no more than 32,000 livres (1,400*l.*) Sumatra proves of greater advantage to them.

Settlements of the Dutch at Sumatra.

THOUGH this iſland, before the arrival of the Europeans in the Indies, was divided into ſeveral kingdoms, Achen was the center of all trade. Its harbour was frequented by all the Aſiatic ſtates, and afterwards by the Portugueſe and other nations, who raiſed themſelves upon their ruins. Here all the productions of the eaſt were bartered for gold, pepper, and other articles of merchandiſe with which this more opulent than healthy climate abounded. The diſturbances which threw this famous emporium into confuſion, put a ſtop to all induſtry, and drove the foreign merchants away.

WHEN this declenſion happened, the Dutch formed the project of making ſettlements in other parts of the iſland, which enjoyed more tranquillity. Thoſe that were allowed to fix in the empire of Indrapore are much reduced, ſince the Engliſh eſtabliſhed themſelves on the ſame coaſt. The factory of Iamby is of ſtill leſs uſe, as the neighbouring kings have ſtript the prince of this diſtrict of his poſſeſſions. The company makes itſelf amends for theſe misfortunes at Palinban, where for ſixty thouſand livres, (2,625*l.*) it maintains a fort, a garriſon of eighty men, and two or three ſloops, which keep cruiſing continually. It purchaſes annually two million weight of pepper, at one and twenty livres (18*s.* 4*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$) a hundred, and a million and an half of calin at fifty-ſeven livres ten ſols (2*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$) a hundred. This, though it ſeems to be a moderate price, is of advantage

BOOK II.

vantage to the king, who buys it from his ſubjects at a ſtill lower rate. Though he takes ſome part of the proviſion and clothing for his ſtates from the merchants at Batavia, they are obliged to ſettle accounts with him in piaſtres. The treaſures he has amaſſed of the ſilver, and of the gold found in his rivers, are known to be immenſe. A ſingle European veſſel might take poſſeſſion of all theſe riches; and, with ſome troops for landing, maintain a poſt, which would be won without difficulty. It ſeems very extraordinary, that avarice ſhould never have prompted any adventurer to undertake ſo lucrative and eaſy an enterpriſe.

CIVILIZED nations, who, to make themſelves maſters of the univerſe, have trampled upon all the rights, and ſtifled all the dictates of nature, will hardly ſhrink at one additional act of injuſtice or cruelty. There is not a nation in Europe which does not think it has a juſt right to ſeize the treaſures of the eaſt. Setting aſide religion, which it is no longer faſhionable to plead, ſince its very miniſters have brought it into diſrepute, by their unbounded avarice and ambition, how many pretences are ſtill remaining to juſtify the rage of invaſion? They who live under a monarchy are deſirous of extending the glory and empire of their maſter beyond the ſeas. Theſe happy people are ready to venture their lives in the extreme parts of the globe, to increaſe the number of fortunate ſubjects who live under the laws of the beſt of princes. A free nation, which is its own maſter, is born to command the ocean; it cannot ſecure the dominion of the ſea, without ſeizing upon the land, which belongs to the firſt poſſeſſor; that is, to him who is able to drive out the ancient inhabitants: they are to be enſlaved by force or fraud, and exterminated in order to get their poſſeſſions. Moreover, the intereſts of commerce, the national

tional debt, and the majesty of the people, require it. Republicans, who have happily shaken off the yoke of foreign tyranny, must impose it on others in their turn. If they have broken their chains, it is to forge new ones. They hate monarchy, but they are in want of slaves. They have no land of their own: why should they not seize upon those of others?

Trade of the Dutch at Siam.

The trade of the Dutch at Siam was at first very considerable. A tyrannic prince, who oppressed this unhappy country, having, about the year 1660, shewn a want of respect to the company, it punished him by abandoning the factories it had established in his dominions, as if it would have been a favour to have continued them. These republicans, who affected an air of grandeur, chose at that time to have their presence looked upon as a favour, a security, and an honour: and they inculcated this singular prejudice with so much success, that in order to engage them to return, a pompous embassy was sent, asking pardon for what had past, and giving the strongest assurances of a different conduct for the future.

There was a time, however, when this deference was to cease, and it was hastened by the naval enterprizes of other powers. The affairs of the company at Siam have always been in a declining state. Having no fort, it has never been in a condition to maintain the exclusive privilege it had obtained. The king, notwithstanding the presents he requires, sells merchandise to traders of all nations, and takes goods from them on advantageous terms: with this difference only, that they are obliged to stop at the mouth of the Menan, whereas the Dutch go up the river as far as the capital of the empire, where their agent constantly resides. Their affairs derive no great activity from this privilege. They send only one vessel laden with Javanese

BOOK II.

neſe horſes, ſugar, ſpices and linens, and receive in return calin, at 70 livres (3*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*) a hundred weight; gum lac, at 52, (2*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*) ſome elephants teeth, at five livres ſix ſols (4*s.* 7*d.*½) a pound; and a little gold, at 175 livres 10 ſols (7*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*½) a mark. One may venture to aſſert, that their connections here are kept up purely on account of the ſappan wood, which is neceſſary for the ſtowing of their ſhips; and for which they give no leſs than five livres (4*s.* 4*d.*½) a hundred weight. Were it not for this want, they would long ago have given up a trade where the expence exceeds the profits; becauſe the king, who is the only merchant in his dominions, ſets a very low price upon the commodities that are imported. A more intereſting object turned the ambitious views of the Dutch towards Malacca.

Situation of the Dutch at Malacca.

THESE republicans, who knew the importance of this place, uſed their utmoſt efforts to make themſelves maſters of it. Having miſcarried in two attempts, they had recourſe at laſt, if we may believe a ſatirical writer, to an expedient, which a virtuous people will never employ; but which frequently anſwers the purpoſe of a degenerate nation. They endeavoured to bribe the Portugueſe governor, whom they knew to be covetous. The bargain was ſtruck, and he introduced the enemy into the city in 1641. The beſiegers haſtened to his houſe and maſſacred him to ſave the payment of the 500,000 livres (21,875) they had promiſed him. But truth obliges us to declare, for the honour of the Portugueſe, that they did not ſurrender till after a moſt obſtinate defence. The commander of the victorious party aſked the commander of the other, in a boaſting ſtrain, which is not natural in his nation, when he would return? *When your crimes are greater than ours*, replied the Portugueſe gravely.

THE

THE conquerors found a fort, which, like all the works of the Portugueſe, was built with a degree of ſtrength, which has never ſince been imitated by any nation. They found the climate very healthy, though hot and moiſt: but the trade there was entirely decayed; the continual exactions having deterred all nations from reſorting thither. It has not been revived by the company, either on account of ſome inſuperable difficulties, or the want of moderation, or the fear of inſuring Batavia. The buſineſs is confined at preſent to the ſale of a ſmall quantity of opium, and a few blue linens, and to the purchaſe of elephants teeth, calin, which coſts 70 livres (3*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*) a hundred weight, and a ſmall quantity of gold, at 180 livres (7*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) a mark. Their affairs would be carried on with more ſpirit and to a greater amount, if the princes adhered more faithfully to the excluſive treaty ſubſiſting between them. Unfortunately for their intereſts, they have formed connections with the Engliſh, who furniſh them with the commodities they want at a cheaper rate, and give a greater price for their merchandiſe. Their farms and cuſtoms make them ſome little amends, bringing in 200,000 livres (8,750*l.*) a year. Theſe revenues, however, and the advantages of commerce taken together, are not ſufficient to maintain the garriſon and people employed; which coſts the company 40,000 livres. (1,750*l.*)

THIS might for a long time appear to be a ſmall ſacrifice. Before the Europeans doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the Moors, who were the only maritime people in India, ſailed from Surat and Bengal to Malacca, where they found ſhips from the Molucca Iſlands, Japan, and China. When the Portugueſe became maſters of this place, they went themſelves to Bantam for pepper, and to Ternate for ſpices. To make their re-

BOOK II.

turn the ſhorter, they attempted a paſſage by the Sunda iſlands, and ſucceeded. The Dutch who had got poſſeſſion of Malacca and Batavia were maſters of the two only ſtraits that were then known. They cruiſed there in times of war, and intercepted the enemy's veſſels. This ſituation has ceaſed to be reſpectable, ſince the ſtrait of Bali was diſcovered by the French at the end of the war in 1744, and that of Lomboc, by the Engliſh, in the laſt war. Batavia will always continue to be the ſtaple of an immenſe trade; but Malacca loſes the only advantage that gave it any importance.

Settlement of the Dutch at Ceylon.

THOUGH the company did not foreſee this event, yet at the ſame time that they were enlarging and ſtrengthening their power in the eaſtern parts of Aſia, they formed the project of ſecuring to themſelves that part of India, where the Portugueſe continued to counteract their operations, and of taking from them the iſland of Ceylon. It is obſervable that this nation, ſo diſtinguiſhed for the juſtneſs of its commercial views, endeavoured to get thoſe productions into its hands, which were either abſolutely neceſſary or nearly ſo, before it turned its attention to articles of luxury. It owes its grandeur in Aſia to the ſpice trade, and in Europe to the herring fiſhery. The Moluccas ſupply it with nutmegs and cloves; and Ceylon furniſhes it with cinnamon.

SPILBERG, the firſt of their admirals who had the courage to diſplay his colours on the coaſt of this delicious iſland, found the Portugueſe employed in ſubverting the government and the religion of the country: in ſetting the ſovereigns, among whom it was divided, to deſtroy each other; and in raiſing themſelves upon the ruins of the ſtates that were thus ſucceſſively demoliſhed. He offered the court of Candy the aſſiſtance of his country, which was joyfully accepted. *You may aſſure*

your maſters, ſaid the monarch, *that if they will build a fort, myſelf, my wife, and children will be foremoſt in bringing you the neceſſary materials.*

THE people of Ceylon looked upon the Dutch in no other light than as the enemies of their oppreſſors, and joined them. By their united forces, the Portugueſe were, in the year 1658, entirely diſpoſſeſſed, after a long, bloody, and obſtinate war. All their ſettlements fell into the hands of the company, who ſtill keep poſſeſſion of them, excepting a ſmall diſtrict on the eaſtern coaſt, without any port, from whence the ſovereign of the country had his ſalt; theſe ſettlements formed a regular ſtring, extending from two to twelve leagues into the inland parts of the iſland.

THE fort of Jaffranapatan, as well as thoſe erected on the iſlands of Manar and Calpentine, were deſtined to prevent all correſpondence with the inhabitants of the neighbouring continent. At Negombo, deſigned to comprehend the diſtrict in which the beſt cinnamon is produced, there is an harbour large enough to admit ſloops: but it is not frequented on account of a navigable river that leads from it to Columbo. This place, which the Portugueſe had fortified with the greateſt care, as the center of opulence, is become the principal ſtation in the colony. It is not improbable, that, independent of the ſums that had been expended upon it, the badneſs of its road might have determined the Dutch to fix the ſtrength of their government at the promontory of Gallo, where there is an harbour: which, though the entrance is indeed difficult, and the roſon very confined, has every other advantage that can be wiſhed. It is here that the company take in their cargoes for Europe.

MATAR is the magazine for coffee and pepper, the culture of which has been introduced by the company.

BOOK II.

It has no other fortification than a redoubt built upon a river that is only navigable for boats. Trinquimale is the fineſt and beſt harbour in the Indies. It is compoſed of ſeveral bays, where the moſt numerous fleets may anchor in ſecurity. No trade is carried on there. The country furniſhes no one article of merchandiſe; and even proviſions are very ſcarce: in ſhort, it is protected by its barrenneſs. Other ſettlements of inferior note that are ſcattered upon the coaſt, ſerve to make the communication eaſy, and to keep off ſtrangers.

By theſe wiſe precautions, the company have appropriated all the productions of the iſland. The ſeveral articles which conſtitute ſo many branches of trade are; 1. Amethyſts, ſapphires, topazes, and rubies, which are very ſmall, and very indifferent. The Moors, who come from the coaſt of Coromandel, buy them, paying a moderate tax; and, when they are cut, ſell them at a low price in the different countries of India.

2. Pepper, which the company buy for eight ſols a pound; coffee, for which they only pay four; and cardamom, which has no fixed price. The natives of the country are ſo indolent, that theſe productions, which are all of an inferior quality, will never turn to any great advantage.

3. A hundred bales of handkerchiefs, pagnes and ginghams, of a fine red colour, which are fabricated by the Malabars at Jaffranapatan, where they have long been ſettled.

4. A small quantity of ivory, and about fifty elephants, which are carried to the coaſt of Coromandel. Thus this gentle and peaceful animal, which is too uſeful to mankind, to be ſuffered to remain upon an iſland, is tranſported to the continent, to aggravate and bear a part in the dangers and horrors of war.

5. Areca,

5. ARECA, which the company buys at the rate of ten livres (8*s*. 9*d*.) the ammonan, and ſells upon the ſpot at the rate of thirty-ſix or forty livres (about 1*l*. 13*s*.) to the merchants of Bengal, Coromandel, and the Maldives; who gave in return rice, coarſe linens, and cowries. The areca, which grows upon a ſpecies of the palm-tree, is a fruit not uncommon in moſt parts of Aſia, and is in great plenty at Ceylon. It is oval, and would not be much unlike the date, if its extremities were leſs pointed. The bark is thick, ſmooth, and membranaceous, and covèrs a kernel of a whitiſh caſt, ſhaped like a pear, and of the bigneſs of a nutmeg. When eaten by itſelf, as it ſometimes is by the Indians, it impoveriſhes the blood, and cauſes the jaundice. It is not attended with theſe inconveniences when mixed with betel.

THE betel is a creeping and climbing plant like the ivy, but does no injury to the agoti, which it embraces as its ſupport, and is remarkably fond of. It is cultivated in the ſame manner as the vine. Its leaves a good deal reſembles thoſe of the citron, though they are longer and narrower at the extremity. The betel grows in all parts of India, but flouriſhes beſt in moiſt places.

AT all times of the day, and even in the night, the Indians chew the leaves of the betel, the bitterneſs of which is corrected by the areca that is wrapped up in them. There is conſtantly mixed with it the chunam, a kind of burnt lime made of ſhells. The rich frequently add perfumes, either to gratify their variety or their ſenſuality.

IT would be thought a breach of politeneſs among the Indians to take leave for any long time, without preſenting each other with a purſe of betel. It is a pledge of friendſhip that relieves the pain of abſence.

BOOK II.

No one dares to ſpeak to a ſuperior unleſs his mouth is perfumed with betel; it would even be rude to neglect this precaution with an equal. The women of gallantry are the moſt laviſh in the uſe of betel, as being a powerful incentive to love. Betel is taken after meals; betel is chewed during a viſit; betel is offered when you meet, and when you ſeparate; in ſhort, nothing is to be done without betel. If it is prejudicial to the teeth, it aſſiſts and ſtrengthens the ſtomach. At leaſt, it is a general faſhion that prevails throughout the Indies.

6. The pearl fiſhery, which is one of the ſources of the revenue of Ceylon. It is no improbable conjecture, that this iſland, which is only fifteen leagues from the continent, was, in ſome diſtant period or other ſeparated from it by ſome great convulſion of nature. The tract of ſea which at preſent divides it from the land, is ſo full of ſhallows, that no ſhips can ſail upon it; and there are only a few places where ſmall boats may paſs in four or five feet water. The Dutch, who aſſume the ſovereignty here, have always two armed ſloops to enforce the payment of the taxes they have impoſed. In this ſtrait the pearl fiſhery is carried on, which was formerly of ſo much importance; but this ſcource of wealth has been ſo much exhauſted, that it is but rarely reſorted to. The bank, indeed, is viſited every year, to ſee how it is repleniſhed with oyſters; but, in general, it is five or ſix years before a ſufficient quantity is to be found. The fiſhery is then farmed out; and, every thing computed, it may produce to the revenues of the company 200,000 livres. (8,750l.) Upon the ſame coaſts is found a ſhell-fiſh called xanxus, of which the Indians at Bengal make bracelets. The fiſhery is free, but the trade is excluſive.

After

AFTER all, the great object of the company is cinnamon. The root of the tree that produces it is large, and divides it into ſeveral branches covered with a bark, which on the outer ſide is of a greyiſh brown, and on the inner of a reddiſh caſt. The wood of this root is hard, white, and has no ſmell. The body of the tree, which grows to the height of eight or ten toiſes, is covered as well as its numerous branches, with a bark which at firſt is green, and afterwards red. The leaf, if it were not longer and narrower, would not be much unlike that of the laurel. When firſt unfolded it is of a flame colour: but after it has been for ſome time expoſed to the air and grows dry, it changes to a deep green on the upper ſurface, and to a lighter on the lower. The flowers are ſmall and white, and grow in large bunches at the extremity of the branches; they have an agreeable ſmell, ſomething like that of the lily of the valley. The fruit is ſhaped like an acorn, but is not ſo large. It is commonly ripe in September. When boiled in water it yields an oil which ſwims at top, and takes fire. If left to cool, it hardens into a white ſubſtance, of which candles are made, which have an agreeable ſmell, and are reſerved for the uſe of the king of Ceylon. No part of the tree that produces the cinnamon is valuable except the under bark. The beſt ſeaſon for raiſing and ſeparating it from the outer bark, which is grey and rugged, is the ſpring, when the ſap flows in the greateſt abundance. It is cut into thin ſlices and expoſed to the ſun; and curls up in drying.

THE old trees produce only a coarſe kind of cinnamon, which is only in perfection when the trees are not older than three or four years. When the trunk has been ſtripped of its bark it receives no further nouriſhment, but the root is ſtill alive and continues to throw

BOOK II.

out freſh ſhoots. Beſides this, the fruit of the cinnamon-tree contains a ſeed from which it is raiſed.

THERE are ſome of the company's territories where this tree does not grow. It is only to be found in thoſe of Negombo, Columbo, or the promontory of Gallo. The prince's foreſts ſupply the deficiency which ſometimes prevails in the magazines. The mountains inhabited by the Bedas abound with the tree; but neither the Europeans or the Cinglaſſes are denied acceſs to them, and there is no way of ſharing the riches of the Bedas but by declaring war againſt them.

As the Cinglaſſes, as well as the Indians upon the continent, are divided into caſts which never make any alliances with one another, each conſtantly adhering to the ſame profeſſion; the art of barking the cinnamon-trees is a diſtinct occupation, and the meaneſt of all others, and is confined to the caſt of the Cooleys. Every other iſlander would look upon it as a diſgrace to be employed in this trade.

THE cinnamon is not reckoned excellent unleſs it is fine, ſmooth, brittle, thin, of a yellow colour inclining to red, fragrant, aromatic, and of a poignant, yet agreeable taſte. The connoiſſeurs give the preference to that, the pieces of which are long but ſlender. It adds to the delicacies of the table, and is of ſovereign uſe in medicine.

THE Dutch purchaſe the greateſt part of their cinnamon of the Indians who are ſubject to them. They have engaged to take a limited quantity of the king of Candy, at an advanced price. Setting one againſt the other, it does not coſt them twelve ſols a pound. It would not be impoſſible for the ſhips that frequent the ports of Ceylon, to procure the tree that produces the cinnamon; but it has degenerated at Malabar, Batavia,

the

the isle of France, and in all parts where it has been transplanted.

FORMERLY the company thought it necessary to maintain four thousand black or white soldiers, to secure the advantages they derived from Ceylon. The number is now reduced to fifteen or sixteen hundred. Their annual expences, nevertheless, amount to 2,200,000 livres (96,250*l.*); and their revenues, and small branches of commerce, produce no more than 2,000,000 of livres. (87,500*l.*) This deficiency is supplied out of the profits arising from cinnamon. They are likewise obliged to provide for the expence attending the wars they are from time to time engaged in with the king of Candy, who is at present the sole sovereign of the island.

THE Dutch freely own that these ruptures are fatal to them. As soon as they break out, most of the people who inhabit the coasts retire into the inland parts of the country. Notwithstanding the despotism that awaits them, they look upon the yoke of the Europeans as an evil still more insupportable. The Cooleys are so far from always waiting for the commencement of hostilities as a signal for their removal, that they sometimes resolve to take this desperate step as soon as they perceive the least misunderstanding between the king and the Dutch. On these occasions, besides the loss of a harvest, a long train of expence and fatigue follows, to enable them to penetrate, sword in hand, into a country, encompassed on all sides by rivers, woods, hollow vales, and mountains.

THESE important considerations had determined the company to engage the good will of the prince of Candy, by shewing him all imaginable civilities. Every year they sent an ambassador laden with rich presents. They offered their ships to convey his priests to Siam, to be

BOOK II.

be inſtructed in the religion of that country, which is the ſame with his own. Notwithſtanding they had taken the forts and the lands which were occupied by the Portugueſe, they contented themſelves with receiving from this prince the appellation of *guardians of his coaſts*. They alſo made him ſeveral other conceſſions.

THESE ſingular inſtances of management, have not, however, been always ſufficient to maintain good harmony, which has ſeveral times been interrupted. The war which ended on the 14th of February, 1766, had been the longeſt and the moſt active of any that had been occaſioned by diſtruſt, and an oppoſition of intereſts. As the company preſcribed terms to a monarch who was driven from his capital, and obliged to wander in the woods, they made a very advantageous treaty. Their ſovereignty was acknowledged over all the countries they were in poſſeſſion of before the troubles broke out; and that part of the coaſts which remained in the occupation of the natives was ceded to them. They are to be allowed to gather cinnamon in all the plains, and the court is to ſell them the beſt ſort that is produced in the mountainous parts at the rate of forty-one livres five ſols (1*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.*) for eighteen pounds. Their commiſſaries are authoriſed to extend their trade to all parts where they think it can be carried on with advantage. The government engages to have no connection with any other foreign power: and ever to deliver up any Europeans who may happen to ſtray into the iſland. In return for ſo many conceſſions, the king is to receive annually the value of the produce of the ceded coaſts; and from thence his ſubjects are to be furniſhed gratis with ſalt ſufficient for their conſumption. It ſhould ſeem that the company may derive great advantages from ſo favourable a ſituation.

THE

THE property of the lands in Ceylon belongs more of right to the ſovereign than in any other part of India. This pernicious ſyſtem has, in that iſland been attended with fatal conſequences inſeparable from it. The people are in a ſtate of total inactivity. They live in huts, have no furniture, and ſubſiſt upon fruits; and thoſe who are moſt at their eaſe, have no other covering than a piece of coarſe linen wrapped about their waiſt. It were to be wiſhed that the Dutch would do one thing, which all the nations who have eſtabliſhed colonies in Aſia, are to blame never to have attempted, and that is, to diſtribute the lands among the families and make them their own property. They would forget, and perhaps hate their former ſovereign: they would attach themſelves to a government that conſulted their happineſs; they would become induſtrious, and occaſion a greater conſumption. Under ſuch circumſtances the iſland of Ceylon would enjoy that opulence which was deſigned it by nature: it would be ſecure from revolutions, and be enabled to ſupport the ſettlements of Malabar and Coromandel, which it is bound to protect.

Trade of the Dutch on the coaſt of Coromandel.

THE Portugueſe, in the time of their proſperity, had formed ſome tolerable ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel. That at Negapatan was taken from them by the Dutch in 1658. It gradually increaſed to ten or twelve villages, which were all inhabited by weavers. In 1690, it was thought proper to build a fort to ſecure their tranquillity, and in 1742 the tower was ſurrounded by walls. This is the centre of trade, where all the inveſtments of white, blue, painted, printed, fine and coarſe linens are made by the company for the conſumption in Europe or India. Whether at Bimilipatnam, Pellicate, Sadraſpatan; or at its factories on the fiſhing coaſt. Their inveſtments, which commonly amount

BOOK II.

mount to four or five thouſand bales are carried to Negapatan, by two ſloops ſtationed in theſe ſeas for that purpoſe.

THE Dutch ſell, on the coaſt of Coromandel, iron, lead, copper, calin, tutenague, pepper, and ſpices. Theſe united articles produce a million of livres (43,750*l.*) to which we may add eighty thouſand (3,500*l.*) ariſing from the cuſtoms. The expences of their ſeveral eſtabliſhments amount to eight hundred thouſand livres, (35,000*l.*) and we may venture to aſſert without the fear of being accuſed of exaggeration, that the freight of the ſhips ſwallow up the reſt of the profits. The net produce therefore of the Coromandel trade to the company, is the profit ariſing from the linens they export. Their trade on the Malabar coaſt is ſtill leſs advantageous to them. It commenced pretty nearly at the ſame period, and was eſtabliſhed at the expence of the ſame nation.

Trade of the Dutch on the coaſt of Malabar.

IT appears to be no difficult taſk to gueſs at the motives that led to this new enterpriſe. After the Portugueſe had loſt Ceylon, they ſold the wild cinnamon of Malabar in Europe at almoſt the ſame price at which they had always ſold the right ſort. Though this rivalſhip could not continue long, it gave uneaſineſs to the Dutch, who, in 1662, ordered Vangoens, their general, to attack Cochin.

THE place was no ſooner inveſted, than intelligence was received of a peace being concluded between Holland and Portugal. This news was kept ſecret. The operations were carried on with vigour; and the beſieged, harraſſed by continual aſſaults, ſurrendered on the eighth day. The next day a frigate arrived from Goa with the articles of peace. The conquerors gave themſelves no further trouble to juſtify their treachery, than by ſaying, that thoſe who complained in ſo haughty a ſtile

ſtile, had obſerved the ſame conduct at Brazil a few years before.

After this conqueſt, the Dutch thought themſelves firmly eſtabliſhed at Malabar. Cochin ſeemed to be neceſſary to protect Cananor, Cranganor, and Quillon, of which they had juſt before made themſelves maſters, and the factory of Porcat, which they had formed the plan of at that time, and have ſince actually eſtabliſhed. The event has not anſwered their expectation. The company have not ſucceeded in their hopes of excluding other European nations from this coaſt. They procure no kind of merchandiſe there, but what they are furniſhed with from their other ſettlements; and being rivalled in their trade they are obliged to give a higher price here, than in the markets where they enjoy an excluſive privilege.

Their articles of ſale conſiſt of a ſmall quantity of alum, benzoin, camphire, tutenague, ſugar, iron, calin, lead, copper, and quickſilver. The veſſel that carries this ſlender cargo returns to Batavia laden with caire, or cocoa-tree bark, for the uſe of the port. By theſe articles the company gain, at moſt 360,000 livres, (15,750*l*) which, with 120,000 (5,250*l*.) ariſing from the cuſtoms, make the ſum of 480,000 livres. (21,000*l*.) In times of profound peace the maintenance of theſe ſettlements coſt 464,000 livres, (20,300*l*.) ſo that 16,000 (700*l*.) only, remain to defray the expences of their ſhipping, for which that ſum is certainly not ſufficient.

It is true the company gets two millions weight of pepper at Malabar, which is carried in ſloops to Ceylon, where it is put aboard the ſhips fitted out for Europe. It is likewiſe true, that, by virtue of theſe capitulations, they pay only 192 (8*l*. 8*s*.) livres the candil, which weighs five hundred pounds, for which other companies

BOOK II.

companies give 240, (10*l.* 10*s.*) and private merchants 288; (12*l.* 12*s.*) but whatever advantage may be made of this article, it is reduced to nothing by the bloody wars that are occaſioned by it.

THESE obſervations had doubtleſs eſcaped the notice of Goloneſs, the director-general of Batavia, when he ventured to affirm that the ſettlement at Malabar which he had long ſuperintended, was one of the moſt important ſettlements belonging to the company. "I am ſo "far from being of your opinion, ſaid general Moſſel, "that I could wiſh the ſea had ſwallowed it up about "a century ago."

The Dutch ſettlement at the Cape of Good Hope.

BE this as it may, the Dutch, in the height of their ſucceſs, found the want of a place where their veſſels might put in to get refreſhments, either in going to, or returning from India. They were undetermined in their choice, when Van-Riebec the ſurgeon, in 1650, propoſed the Cape of Good Hope, which the Portugueſe had imprudently deſpiſed. This judicious man, during a ſtay of ſome weeks, was convinced that a colony might be placed to advantage on this ſouthern extremity of Africa, which might ſerve as a ſtaple for the commerce of Europe and Aſia. The care of forming this ſettlement was committed to him; and his meaſures were concerted upon a good plan. He cauſed it to be ſtipulated that every man who choſe to fix there ſhould have ſixty acres of land allotted him. Corn, cattle and utenſils were to be provided for thoſe who wanted them. Young women taken from alms-houſes were given them as companions to ſoften, and to ſhare their fatigues. All thoſe, who after three years found the climate, did not agree with them, had liberty to return to Europe, and to diſpoſe of their poſſeſſions in what manner they pleaſed. Having ſettled theſe arragements he ſet ſail.

THE

THE large tract of country which it was propoſed to cultivate, was inhabited by the Hottentots, who, according to a French traveller, are divided into ſeveral clans, each of which forms an independent village. Their habitations are huts covered with ſkins, which cannot be entered without creeping upon their hands and knees, and are diſpoſed in a circle. Theſe huts are hardly of any other uſe than to hold a few proviſions and houſhold furniture. The Hottentots never enter them but in the rainy ſeaſon. They are always found lying at their doors; and if they interrupt their repoſe it is to ſmoke a ſtrong herb which ſerves them inſtead of tobacco.

THE management of cattle is the ſole employment of theſe ſavages. As there is but one herd in each town which is common to all the inhabitants, each of them is appointed to guard it in his turn. This poſt requires conſtant vigilance, the country being full of wild beaſts, which are more voracious at this extremity of Africa than any where elſe. The ſhepherd ſends out ſcouts every day. If a leopard or tyger is ſeen in the neighbourhood, the whole town takes up arms, and flies to the enemy, who ſeldom eſcapes from ſo many poiſoned arrows, and ſharp ſtakes hardened in the fire.

As the Hottentots neither have, nor appear to have riches; and their oxen and ſheep, which is all the property they have, are in common; it is natural to imagine that there is little occaſion for diſputes among them. They are accordingly united to each other by the cloſeſt ties of friendſhip: nor do they ever engage in any war, even with their neighbours; ſetting aſide the quarrels between the ſhepherds on account of cattle that may have ſtrayed, or been carried off.

IT has often been remarked, that public cuſtoms gave riſe to the firſt colonies. Marks of diſtinction were adopted to make men unite and recognize one another.

A broken

BOOK II.

A broken noſe, a flat head, bored ears, paintings, burnings, head-dreſſes, are the characteriſtics of the ſavage world. As no plan of morality or education prevails among them, it follows of courſe, that univerſal cuſtoms muſt with them ſupply the place of policy and government. Theſe rude men, the children of nature, depend entirely on the temper of the climate: and hence the Hottentots have the manners of herdſmen.

When the Dutch arrived there, they were, like all the people who lead a paſtoral life, full of benevolence; and partook in ſome degree of the ſlovenlineſs and ſtupidity of the animals they kept. They had inſtituted an order, with which they honoured thoſe who had ſubdued any of the monſters that were deſtructive to their ſheep-folds: and they revered the memory of the heroes who had done ſervice to mankind. The apotheoſis of Hercules had the ſame origin.

Riebeck, in conformity to the notions unhappily prevailing among the Europeans, began to take poſſeſſion of the moſt commodious part of the territory; and he afterwards deſigned to fix himſelf there. This behaviour diſpleaſed the natives. *On what pretence,* ſaid their envoy to theſe ſtrangers, *have you ſown our lands? Why do you employ them to feed your cattle? How would you behave if you ſaw your own fields invaded in this manner? You fortify yourſelves with no other view than to reduce the Hottentots to ſlavery.* Theſe remonſtrances were followed by ſome hoſtilities, which brought the founder of the colony back to thoſe principles of juſtice and humanity, that were agreeable to his natural character. He purchaſed the country he wanted to occupy for the ſum of 90,000 livres (3,973*l.* 10*s.*) which was paid in merchandiſe. All parties were reconciled, and from that time to this, there has been no further diſturbance.

It

It has been proved that the company have expended 46,000,000 of livres (2,012,500*l.*) in raiſing the colony to its preſent ſtate. A few particulars will enable us to judge how ſo conſiderable a ſum has been employed.

It is computed that there are at the Cape of Good Hope about twelve thouſand Europeans, Dutch, Germans, and French Refugees. Some part of theſe numbers reſide in the capital, and two conſiderable towns: the reſt are diſperſed along the coaſt which extends fifty leagues into the country. The ſoil of the Hottentots being ſandy, and only good by intervals; the huſbandmen chuſe to confine themſelves to thoſe places where they meet with water, wood and fertile land; three advantages ſeldom found together.

The company formerly procured ſlaves from Madagaſcar, who alleviated the burthen of the white people. Since the French appeared as rivals, this communication has been diſcontinued. The preſent planters conſiſt of a few Malays, who are unaccuſtomed to the climate, and are ſcarce fit for the work that is required of them.

If it were practicable to make the Hottentots ſteady, great advantages might accrue, which cannot be hoped for from their preſent character. All that has yet been done, has been to prevail with the pooreſt of them to engage in their ſervice for one, two, or three years. They are of a docile temper, and perform the work that is expected from them; but, at the expiration of their agreement, they take the cattle that are allowed them for wages, rejoin their clan, and never make their appearance again till they have oxen or ſheep to barter for knives, tobacco, and brandy. They find an inexpreſſible charm in the independent and indolent life they lead in their deſerts. Nothing can wean them from this attachment. One of their children was taken from the

BOOK II.

cradle, and inſtructed in our manners and religion; he made a progreſs anſwerable to the pains that were beſtowed upon his education; he was ſent to India, and uſefully employed in trade. Happening, by accident, to reviſit his country, he went to ſee his relations in their hut. He was ſtruck with the ſimplicity that appeared there; he cloathed himſelf with a ſheep-ſkin, and went to the fort to carry back his European habiliments. *I am come*, ſaid he to the governor, *to renounce for ever the mode of life you have taught me to embrace. I am reſolved to follow, till death, the manners and religion of my anceſtors. As a token of my affection, I will keep the collar and ſword you have given me: all the reſt you will permit me to leave behind.* He did not wait for an anſwer, but ran away, and was never heard of after.

THOUGH the character of the Hottentots is not ſuch as the Dutch could wiſh, the company derive ſolid advantages from this colony. Indeed, the tenth-part of the corn and wine, together with their cuſtoms and other duties, do not exceed 240,000 livres. (10,500l.) They gain no more than forty thouſand (1,750l.) by their thick cloths, common thread and cotton piece, hardware, coals, and other inconſiderable articles, which they vend at this place.

THEY receive a ſtill ſmaller profit from ſixty lecques of red wine, and eighty or ninety of white, which they carry to Europe every year. The lecque weighs about twelve hundred pounds. There are only two places in the neighbourhood of Conſtantia that produce this wine. The company might have it entirely genuine, and at a very low rate. Happily the governor finds it his intereſt to allow the cultivators to mix it with the produce of the adjacent vineyards. By this management what remains of this celebrated wine, the genuine excellent cape wine, is ſold to foreign veſſels that hap-

pen to touch at the coaſts at four livres (3*s.* 6*d.*) a bottle. It is generally preferable to that which is extorted by tyranny; nothing good being to be expected where it is not voluntarily obtained.

As the expences neceſſary for the ſupport of ſo large a ſettlement, ſwallow up, at leaſt, all theſe profits taken together, its utility muſt reſt upon ſome other foundation.

THE Dutch ſhips that ſail to and from India find a ſafe aſylum at the cape; a delightful, ſerene, and temperate ſky; and learn every thing of importance that happens in both thoſe parts of the globe. Here they take in butter, meal, wine, large quantities of pickled vegetables for their voyage, and for the uſe of the colonies. They might draw much greater advantages from hence, if the company blinded by their avidity, were not perpetually checking the induſtry of the planters. They oblige them to part with their proviſions at ſo low a price, that they have not, for a long time, been able to procure cloathing and other abſolute neceſſaries.

THIS tyrannical conduct might, perhaps, be borne with, if the victims of it were authoriſed to ſell their ſuperfluous produce to foreign navigators, whom the convenience of their ſituation, or other reaſons might invite into their ports. But a ſpirit of jealouſy in trade, which is one of the greateſt evils that can befal humanity, has deprived them of this reſource. The Dutch have long flattered themſelves, that by with-holding this conveniency from other trading nations, they ſhould make them abandon India in diſguſt. Notwithſtanding they have experienced the reverſe of this, their conduct is not altered; though it was eaſy to diſcern, that all the wealth that flowed into the colony would, ſooner or later, return to the company. The governor only is authoriſed to ſupply the moſt preſſing neceſſities of thoſe

BOOK II.

who touch at the Cape. Theſe wrong meaſures, have deſervedly been the ſource of a thouſand inconveniencies. We muſt do juſtice to M. Tolbac, who at preſent preſides over this colony. This generous man, during the laſt war, ſet an example of benevolence and diſintereſtedneſs, which was not to be found in any of his predeceſſors. As his underſtanding raiſed him above prejudice, and that he had a ſufficient degree of firmneſs to deviate from the abſurd orders he received, he encouraged the nations who endeavoured to ſupplant one another to repair to his colony for ſubſiſtence. The price was regulated by ſo juſt a ſtandard, that while it was ſo moderate as to invite purchaſers, it was high enough to animate the cultivators to induſtry. May this wiſe magiſtrate long enjoy the pleaſing conſciouſneſs of having made the fortune of his fellow-citizens, and the glory of having neglected his own!

If the company ſhould adopt his plan, they will imitate the ſpirit of their founders, who did nothing by chance, and, without waiting for the happy events we have been deſcribing, ſet themſelves to find out a place, which they might make the center of their power. They had caſt their eyes upon Java as early as the year 1609.

Dominions of the Dutch in the iſland of Java.

The people of this iſland, which is two hundred leagues in length and thirty or forty in breadth, traced their origin from China, though they retained nothing either of its religion or its manners. A very ſuperſtitious ſpecies of mohammedaniſm conſtituted the prevailing worſhip. Some idolaters were ſtill remaining in the interior part of the country; and theſe were the only inhabitants of Java that were not arrived at the laſt ſtage of depravity. This iſland, which was formerly under the dominion of a ſingle monarch, was at that time divided among ſeveral ſovereigns, who were perpetually

tually at war with each other. Theſe eternal diſſenſions, while they kept up a military ſpirit among the people, made them neglect manners. Their enmity to ſtrangers, and want of confidence in each other, would lead one to conclude, that this nation breathed no ſentiment but hatred. Here men were wolves to each other, and ſeemed to unite in ſociety more for the ſake of committing mutual injuries, than of receiving mutual aſſiſtances. A Javaneſe never accoſted his brother without having a poniard in his hand; ever watchful to prevent, or prepared to commit ſome act of violence. The grandees had a great number of ſlaves, either bought, taken in war, or detained for debt, whom they treated with the utmoſt inhumanity. They cultivated the lands, and performed all kinds of hard labour. The Javaneſe chewed betel, ſmoked opium, lived with his concubines, fought, or ſlept. Theſe people poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of underſtanding, but retained few traces of any moral principle. They had not ſo much the character of an unenlightened, as of a degenerated nation: in ſhort, they were a ſet of men, who, from a regular government had fallen into a kind of anarchy; and gave full ſcope to the impetuous emotions which nature excites in theſe climates.

This depraved character of the inhabitants did not alter the views of the company with reſpect to Java. They might be counteracted by the Engliſh, who were then in poſſeſſion of a part of the trade of this iſland. But this obſtacle was ſoon removed. The weakneſs of James the Firſt, and the corruption of his council, had ſo damped the ſpirits of theſe haughty Britons, that they ſuffered themſelves to be ſupplanted, without making thoſe efforts that might have been expected from their bravery. The natives of the country, deprived

BOOK II.

of their ſupport, were forced to ſubmit; but it required time, addreſs, and policy, to accompliſh that ſcheme.

It was one of the fundamental maxims of the Portugueſe to perſuade thoſe princes they wanted to engage or retain in a ſtate of dependence, to ſend their children to Goa to be educated, at the expence of the court of Liſbon, and initiated early into its manners and principles. But this, which was in itſelf a good project, was ſpoiled by the conquerors, who admitted theſe young people to a participation of the moſt criminal pleaſures, and the moſt ſhameful ſcenes of debauchery. The conſequence was, that when theſe Indians arrived at maturity, they could not help deteſting, or, at leaſt, deſpiſing ſuch abandoned inſtructors. The Dutch adopted the ſame plan, and improved upon it. They endeavoured to convince their pupils of the weakneſs, inconſtancy, and treachery of their ſubjects; and ſtill more of the power, wiſdom, and good faith of the company. By this method they ſtrengthened their uſurpations; but we are obliged to ſay, that the Dutch employed means that were treacherous and cruel.

The government of the iſland, which was founded entirely on the feudal laws, ſeemed calculated to promote diſcord. Fathers and ſons turned their arms againſt each other. They ſupported the pretenſions of the weak againſt the ſtrong, and of the ſtrong againſt the weak, as they ſaw occaſion. They ſometimes took the monarch's part, and ſometimes that of his vaſſals. If any perſon of formidable genius aſcended the throne, they raiſed up rivals to oppoſe him. Thoſe who were not to be ſeduced by gold or promiſes, were ſubdued by fear. Every day was productive of ſome revolution, which was always begun by the intrigues of the tyrants, and always ended to their advantage. At length they became maſters of the moſt important poſts in the inland

parts

parts of the country; and of the forts that were built upon the coaſts.

THIS plan of uſurpation was only begun to be carried into execution, when a governor was appointed at Java, who had a palace and guards, and appeared in great pomp. The company thought proper to depart from the principles of oeconomy they had hitherto adopted; from a perſuaſion, that the Portugueſe had derived a great advantage from the brilliant court kept by the vice-roy of Goa: that the people of the Eaſt were to be dazzled in order to be the more eaſily ſubdued: and that it was neceſſary to ſtrike the imagination and the eyes of the Indians, who are guided more by their ſenſes than the inhabitants of our climates.

THE Dutch had another reaſon for aſſuming an air of dignity. They had been repreſented in Aſia as pirates, without a country, without laws, and without a ruler. To ſilence theſe calumnies, they endeavoured to prevail with ſeveral ſtates adjoining to Java to ſend ambaſſadors to prince Maurice of the houſe of Orange.

THE execution of this project procured them a double advantage: as it gave them credit with the eaſtern nations, and flattered the ambition of the Stadtholder, whoſe protection was neceſſary to be obtained, for reaſons which we are going to explain.

WHEN the company obtained their excluſive privilege, the ſtraits of Magellan, which could have no connection with the Eaſt Indies, were improperly enough included in the grant. Iſaac Lemaire, one of thoſe rich and enterprizing merchants, who ought every where to be conſidered as the benefactors of their country, formed the project of penetrating into the South Sea by the ſouthern coaſts. Acceſs being denied by the only track that was known at that time; he fitted out two ſhips which paſſed a ſtrait, ſince called by his name,

BOOK II.

running between Cape Horne and the Staten Land; and were driven by the force of accidents to the coaſt of Java, where they were condemned, and the crew ſent priſoners to Europe.

THIS tyrannical proceeding gave offence to the people, already prejudiced againſt an excluſive commerce. It was thought abſurd, that inſtead of giving thoſe who attempted diſcoveries, the encouragement they deſerved, a ſtate purely commercial ſhould forge ſhackles to confine their induſtry. The monopoly, which the avarice of individuals had endured with impatience, became more odious when the company ſtretched the conceſſions that had been made them beyond their due bounds. It was found that as their pride and influence increaſed with their power, the intereſt of the nation would at length be ſacrificed to the intereſt, or even to the caprice of this formidable body. It is probable, that they muſt have ſunk under the public reſentment; and that the charter, which was near expiring, would not have been renewed, if they had not been ſupported by prince Maurice, favoured by the States-General, and encouraged to brave the ſtorm by the ſtrength they derived from their ſettlement at Java.

THOUGH the tranquility of this iſland may have been diſturbed by various commotions, ſeveral wars, and ſome conſpiracies, it continues to be as much in ſubjection to the Dutch as they wiſh it to be.

BANTAM extends over the weſtern part. One of its ſovereigns having reſigned the crown to his ſon, was recalled to the throne in 1680 by the natural reſtleſſneſs of his temper, the bad conduct of his ſucceſſor, and a powerful faction. His party was on the point of prevailing, when the young monarch, beſieged in his capital by an army of thirty thouſand men, without any adherents, except the companions of his debaucheries,

implored

implored the protection of the Dutch. They flew to his aſſiſtance, beat his enemies, delivered him from his rival, and re-eſtabliſhed his authority. Though the expedition was briſk, ſhort, and rapid, and conſequently could not be expenſive; they contrived to make the charges of the war amount to a prodigious ſum. The ſituation of things would not admit of a ſcrutiny into the ſum demanded for ſo great a piece of ſervice, and the exhauſted ſtate of the finances made it impoſſible to diſcharge it. In this extremity this weak prince determined to entail ſlavery on himſelf and his deſcendants, by granting to his deliverers the excluſive trade of his dominions.

The company maintain this great privilege with three hundred and ſixty-eight men, who are ſtationed in two bad forts, one of which ſerves as a habitation for the governor, the other as a palace for the king. The expences of this ſettlement amount to no more than 100,000 livres, (4,375*l.*) which are regained upon the merchandiſe ſold there. Their clear profits conſiſt of what they gain upon three millions weight of pepper, which they oblige the inhabitants to ſell at twenty-five livres twelve ſols (1*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$.) a hundred.

These profits are inconſiderable in compariſon of what the company receives from Tſieribon, which it ſubjected without any efforts, without intrigues, and without expence. The Dutch were ſcarce ſettled at Java, when the ſultan of this narrow but very fertile ſtate, put himſelf under their protection, to avoid ſubmitting to a neighbouring prince more powerful than himſelf. He ſells them annually a thouſand laſts of rice, each weighing three thouſand three hundred pounds, at ſeventy-ſix livres ſixteen ſols (about 3*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$.) a laſt. A million weight of ſugar, the fineſt of which coſts thirteen livres nine ſols (about 11*s.* 9*d*) a hundred;

BOOK II.

hundred; one million two hundred thouſand pounds of coffee, at four ſols (2*d.*) a pound; a hundred quintals of pepper, at four ſols eight deniers (about 2*d.* ½.) a pound; thirty thouſand pounds of cotton, the fineſt of which coſts no more than one livre eight ſols (about 1*s.* 2*d.* ½) a pound; ſix hundred thouſand pounds of areca, at twelve livres (10*s.* 6*d.*) a hundred. Though fixing theſe prices ſo low is a manifeſt impoſition upon the weakneſs of the inhabitants, the people of Tſieribon who are the moſt gentle and civilized of any in the iſland, have never been provoked by this injuſtice to take up arms. A hundred Europeans are ſufficient to keep them in ſubjection. The expences of this ſettlement amount to no more than 41,000 livres, (1,793*l.* 15*s.*) which is gained by linens imported thither.

THE empire of Mataran, which formerly extended over the whole iſland, and at preſent takes up the greateſt part of it, was the laſt that was reduced to ſubjection. Often vanquiſhed, and ſometimes vanquiſhing, it continued its ſtruggles for independency, when the ſon and brother of a ſovereign, who died in 1704, diſputed the ſucceſſion. The nation was divided between the two rivals. He who was intitled to the crown by order of ſucceſſion, had ſo viſibly the advantage, that he muſt ſoon have got the ſupreme power entirely into his hands, if the Dutch had not declared in favour of his rival. The party, eſpouſed by theſe republicans, at length prevailed after a ſeries of conteſts, more active, frequent, well conducted, and obſtinate, than could have been expected. The young prince, whom they wanted to deprive of the right of ſucceſſion to the king his father, diſplayed ſo much intrepidity, prudence and firmneſs, that he would have triumphed over his enemies, had it not been for the advantage they derived from their magazines,

gazines, forts, and ſhips. His uncle uſurped his throne; but ſhewed himſelf unworthy to fill it.

When the company reſtored him to the crown, they dictated laws to him. They choſe the place where his court was to be fixed, and ſecured his attachment by a citadel in which a guard was maintained, with no other apparent view than to protect the prince. After all theſe precautions, they employed every artifice to lull his attention by pleaſures, to gratify his avarice by preſents, and to flatter his vanity by pompous embaſſies. From this æra, the prince and his ſucceſſors, who were educated ſuitably to the part they were to act, were nothing more than the deſpicable tools of the deſpotiſm of the company. All that is neceſſary for their ſupport, is three hundred horſe and four hundred ſoldiers, whoſe maintenance, includiug the pay of the agents, coſts them 760,000 livres. (33,250*l.*)

The company are amply reimburſed for this expence by the advantages it ſecures them. The harbours of this ſtate afford docks for the conſtruction of all the ſmall veſſels and ſloops employed in the company's ſervice. They are ſupplied from hence with all the timber that is wanted in their ſeveral Indian ſettlements, and in part of their foreign colonies. Here too they load their veſſels with the productions with which the kingdom is obliged to furniſh them; conſiſting of five thouſand laſts of rice, at forty-eight livres (2*l.* 2*s.*) a laſt; as much ſalt as they require, at twenty-eight livres ſixteen ſols (about 1*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.*) a laſt; a hundred thouſand pounds of pepper, at nineteen livres four ſols (16*s.* 9*d.* ½.) a hundred; all the indigo that is raiſed, at three livres (about 2*s.* 7*d.* ½) a pound; cadjang, for the uſe of their ſhips, at ſeventy-ſix livres ſixteen ſols (about 3*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* ½.) a laſt; cotton yarn, from twelve ſols to one livre (from about 6*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* a pound, according to its

BOOK II.

its quality: and the ſmall quantity of cardamomum is produced there, at a ſhameful price.

THE iſland of Madura, which is ſeparated from the ports of Mataran only by a narrow channel, is obliged, by a garriſon of fifteen men, to furniſh rice at a very low rate. This iſland, in common with the people of Java, labours under a ſtill more odious oppreſſion. The company's commiſſaries make uſe of falſe meaſure in order to procure a larger quantity of goods from the people that are to furniſh them. This fraud, practiſed for their own private advantage, has not hitherto been puniſhed; and there is no reaſon to hope that it ever will. Balambangan is the only diſtrict in the iſland of Java, that is not expoſed to theſe iniquitous practices. The Dutch who ſlighted it, on account of its not furniſhing any article of trade, have held no correſpondence with it.

FOR the reſt, the Dutch having abated the turbulency of the Javaneſe, by gradually undermining the laws that maintain it; and ſatisfied with having forced them to give ſome attention to agriculture, and with having ſecured to themſelves a commerce perfectly excluſive, have not attempted to acquire any property in the iſland. Their territory extends no farther than the ſmall kingdom of Jacatra. The ravages committed by the Dutch when they conquered this ſtate, and the tyranny that followed that conqueſt, had turned it into a deſert. It ſtill remains uncultivated and inactive.

THE Dutch, thoſe of them in particular who go to India to ſeek their fortunes, were hardly qualified to recover this excellent ſoil from its exhauſted ſtate. It was ſeveral times propoſed to have recourſe to the Germans; and by the encouragements of ſome advances, and ſome gratuities, to exerciſe their induſtry in a manner the moſt advantageous to the company. What

theſe

theſe laborious people might have done in the fields, the ſilk manufacturers from China, and the linen-weavers from Coromandel, might have executed in the work-ſhops, for the improvement of manufactures. As theſe uſeful projects did not favour any private views, they continued to be nothing more than projects. At length the Governors General Imhoff and Moſſel, ſtruck with a ſcene of ſuch great diſorder, endeavoured to find out a remedy.

WITH this view they ſold to the Chineſe and the Europeans, at a ſmall price, the lands which the government had acquired by oppreſſive means. This management has not produced all the good that was expected from it. The new proprietors have ſeldom ventured to keep any thing upon their eſtates but ſheep and cattle, for which they have an eaſy, certain, and advantageous market. They would have applied themſelves to agriculture, which requires more care, greater pecuniary encouragements, and a greater number of hands, if the company did not inſiſt on their furniſhing the commodities at the ſame price they give for them in the reſt of the iſland. At this preſent time there are no more than a hundred and fifty thouſand ſlaves, who are under the direction of a ſmall number of free men. The produce of their labours conſiſts of two millions weight of coffee, a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of pepper, twenty five thouſand pounds of cotton, ten thouſand pounds of indigo, ten million of ſugar, and ſix thouſand lecques of areca. The two laſt articles have been cultivated with more ſpirit than the reſt, becauſe private perſons, having the liberty to purchaſe and export them, pay twenty per cent. dearer for them than the company.

THESE commodities, as well as all thoſe that are produced in Javan, are carried to Batavia, which is built on the ruins of the ancient capital of Jacatra.

A CITY

BOOK II.

A CITY which has become ſo conſiderable a mart, muſt have received many ſucceſſive improvements. It is well built; the houſes, though not magnificent, are pleaſant, commodious, and well furniſhed; the ſtreets are broad, running in ſtrait lines, with rows of large trees on each ſide, and canals cut through them; they are always clean, though it has not been thought proper to pave them, for fear of increaſing the heat by too ſtrong a reflection of the ſun's rays. All the public buildings have an air of grandeur; and the generality of travellers look upon Batavia as one of the fineſt cities in the world.

THE number of inhabitants, including the ſuburbs and liberties, does not exceed an hundred thouſand. The greateſt part of this number are ſlaves. Here are likewiſe Malayans, Javaneſe, free Macaſſars, who are all of them indolent enough; and Chineſe, who have the excluſive exerciſe of all trades, are the only cultivators of the ſugar cane, and manage all the manufactures. The number of Europeans may amount to ten thouſand; of theſe, four thouſand born in India, are, to an inconceivable degree, degenerated. This ſtrange perverſion is probably owing to the generally received cuſtom, of committing the care of their education to ſlaves.

THE corruptions at Batavia have, however, been exaggerated. Diſſolute manners are not more prevalent there than in other ſettlements, formed by the Europeans in Aſia. It is true they drink to exceſs; but the ties of marriage are held ſacred. None but unmarried men keep concubines, who are generally of the rank of ſlaves. The prieſts have endeavoured to ſtop the progreſs of theſe connections, which are always ſecret, by refuſing to baptize the offspring of them; but they are become leſs rigid, ſince a carpenter belonging to the company,

company, who chose his son should be of some religion or other, took it into his head to have him circumcised.

Luxury has maintained its ground more successfully than concubinage. The ladies who are universally ambitious of distinguishing themselves by the richness of their dress, and the magnificence of their equipage, have carried their taste for finery to excess. They never stir out without a numerous train of slaves; and either ride in magnificent cars, or are carried in superb palanquins. They wear gold or silver tissues, or fine Chinese sattins, with a net of gold thrown over them; and their head-dress is loaded with pearls and diamonds. In 1758 the government attempted to reform these extravagancies, by prescribing a mode of dress suitable to each rank. These regulations were received with contempt, means were found to elude, or to purchase an immunity from them; and no change took place. It would, indeed, have been a strange singularity, if the use of precious stones had been discontinued in the country that gave them birth; and that the Dutch had regulated a species of luxury in India, which they brought from thence with a view of introducing, or increasing it in this part of the world. The force and example of an European government struggle in vain against the laws and manners of the climate of Asia.

The heats which might naturally be expected to be excessive at Batavia, are allayed by an agreeable sea-breeze, which begins to blow every day at ten o'clock, and continues till four. The nights are rendered cool by land-breezes, which die away at day-break. It would contribute to make the air as pure as the sky is serene, if they made their canals somewhat deeper,

and

BOOK II.

and erected ſluices. Diſorders are not, however, very frequent here. The mortality that prevails among the ſoldiers and ſailors, is rather owing to debauchery, bad proviſions and fatigue, than to the inclemency of the climate.

NOTHING can be more agreeable than the environs one or two leagues round the capital. The country is interſperſed with delightful villas, plantations that yield an agreeable ſhade, and gardens finely ornamented, and even diſpoſed with taſte. It is the faſhion to live there all the year, and the people in office only come to Batavia to tranſact public buſineſs. Theſe charming retreats formerly owed their tranquillity to forts erected at a certain diſtance from one another, to prevent the incurſions of the Javaneſe. Since theſe people have contracted a habit of ſlavery, theſe redoubts ſerve as barracks for the refreſhment of the recruits, after the fatigues of a long voyage.

BATAVIA is ſituated at the bottom of a deep bay, containing ſeveral iſlands of a middling ſize, which reſiſt the impetuoſity of the ſea. It is, properly ſpeaking, a road; but is as ſafe a retreat from all winds, and in all ſeaſons, as the beſt harbour. The only inconvenience is the difficulty of going, in ſtormy weather, aboard the ſhips that are obliged to anchor at a conſiderable diſtance. The ſhips undergo the neceſſary repairs at the ſmall iſland of Onruſt, which though two leagues and a half diſtant, is one of thoſe that chiefly contribute to the goodneſs of the road. It forms an excellent dock, is well fortified, and never without three or four hundred European carpenters; and as veſſels can eaſily take in their lading there, magazines are erected for the reception of the larger kinds of merchandiſe intended for exportation. A pretty conſiderable

river, after fertilizing the fields, and refreshing Batavia, seems to fall into the sea, on purpose to serve as a channel of communication between the town and the shipping. The lighters that are continually meeting each other in this passage, and formerly drew twelve feet water, are reduced to one-half: the sands and rubbish have formed a bank, which, if suffered to increase, will prove an inconvenience, and occasion a very considerable expence. It is well worth while, on account of the importance of Batavia, to pay a serious attention to every thing that may contribute to the improvement and utility of its road, which is the most important one in India.

All the vessels sent out by the company from Europe to Asia arrive there; and except what goes directly from Bengal and Ceylon, they are laden in their return with all the articles of those rich sales, which create among us so much surprize and admiration.

The expeditions to the different sea-ports of India are hardly less, perhaps, they are more considerable. European vessels are employed in this service during the unavoidable stay they are obliged to make in these remote seas.

This two-fold navigation is founded upon that which connects all the Dutch settlements with Batavia. Those that lie to the east are led from their situation, the nature of their merchandise, and their wants, to keep up a brisker correspondence with it than the rest. But all of them are obliged to have pass-ports. Any ship belonging to a private person, that should neglect this precaution, which was taken to prevent fraudulent trade, would be seized by the sloops that are continually cruising in these latitudes. When they arrive at the place of their destination, they deliver to the company

BOOK II.

ſuch of their commodities as they have reſerved the excluſive trade of to themſelves, and diſpoſe of the reſt to whom they pleaſe. The ſlave-trade conſtitutes one of the principal branches of the commerce laſt mentioned. Six thouſand of both ſexes are annually carried to Batavia, where they are employed in domeſtic ſervice, the cultivation of the lands, or manufactures. The Chineſe, who cannot bring or invite over any of their countrywomen, make their choice among the ſlaves.

To theſe articles of importation may be added thoſe brought every year, by a dozen Chineſe junks, from Emoy, Limpo, and Canton. Their cargo is valued at about three millions (131,250*l.*) : and conſiſts of camphire, porcelain, ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, which are uſed in Batavia and the reſt of the Dutch colonies ; of unwrought ſilks, which are bought by the company when they are in any conſiderable quantity, or which, when there are but few of them, are ſold to thoſe who chooſe to ſend them to Mataſſar or Sumatra, where the grandees have pagnes made of them : of tea, which was formerly engroſſed by the company, but is now given up to private traders, who ſend it to Europe, where it is ſold by the company who deduct forty per cent. for the freight. This tea is generally bad, and of the worſt ſort.

The junks, which beſides the aforementioned articles, regularly bring two thouſand Chineſe to Java, who come thither in hopes of making their fortunes, carry back ſtag's pizzles and the fins of the ſhark, which are reckoned among the delicacies of the table in China. Another article they receive in exchange from Batavia is tripam, to the annual amount of two thouſand peculs. Each pecul, weighing a hundred and twenty-five pounds, ſells from twelve to forty livres (from 10*s.* 6*d.* to 1*l.* 15*s.*) according to its quality. It grows only two

feet

feet from the ſea upon the barren rocks of the eaſt, and of Cochin-china, from whence it is carried to Batavia, together with thoſe bird's neſts ſo much celebrated all over the eaſt which are found in the ſame places. A pecul of the laſt-mentioned merchandiſe ſells from 1,400 to 2,800 livres, (from 61*l.* 5*s.* to 122*l.* 10*s.*) and the Chineſe carry away one thouſand. Theſe neſts are of an oval ſhape, an inch high, three inches round, and weigh about half an ounce. They are formed by a ſpecies of the ſwallow; its head, breaſt, and wings are of a fine blue, and its body milk white. They are compoſed of the ſpawn of fiſh, or of a glutinous froth which the agitation of the ſea leaves upon the rocks, to which they are faſtened at the bottom and on the ſide. When ſeaſoned with ſalt and ſpices, they make a nouriſhing, wholeſome and delicious jelly, and are an article of the higheſt luxury at the tables of the eaſtern mohammedans. Their whiteneſs conſtitutes their delicacy. The Chineſe likewiſe carry away calin and pepper, though the company reſerved the exportation of thoſe articles to themſelves. Their principal agents pretend for their own advantage, that theſe exportations are not prejudicial to the body which has intruſted its intereſts to their management.

The traffic of the Chineſe at Batavia, beſides the merchandiſe they export from thence, brings them in ſome ready money. This wealth is increaſed by the conſiderable ſums that the Chineſe ſettled at Java remit to their families, and by the ſums ſooner or later amaſſed by thoſe, who, content with their fortune, return to their own country, of which they ſeldom loſe ſight.

The Europeans are not ſo well treated at Batavia as the Chineſe. None are admitted there as merchants but the Spaniards. Their ſhips come from Manilla with gold, which is the produce of the iſland; and

BOOK II.

with cochineal and piaſtres brought from Mexico. They take, in exchange, linens for their own uſe and that of Acapulco; but the principal article is cinnamon, the conſumption of which is much increaſed by the general uſe of chocolate in the new world, and the progreſs it is daily making in Europe. Since the Engliſh and French have ſailed to the Philippines, the former branch of this trade has conſiderably declined; the latter ſuffered a change in the year 1759. Before that time, cinnamon was ſold to the Spaniards at a moderate price; but, at preſent, they are expected to give the ſame that it bears in Europe. This innovation occaſions a coolneſs between the two colonies. The conſequences of this miſunderſtanding have not come to our knowledge.

All we know is, that the French hardly ever go to Batavia but in time of war. They purchaſe rice and arrack there for the uſe of their ſhips and their ſettlements, and make their payments for theſe commodities in ſilver or bills of exchange.

The Engliſh are oftener ſeen there. All their veſſels coming from Europe to China put in at this harbour under pretence of taking in freſh water; but in reality with a view of vending the goods, which are the property of the ſhip's company, conſiſting of cloths, hardware, glaſſes, arms, Madeira wines, and Portugal oils. This clandeſtine trade ſeldom exceeds a million of livres. (43,750*l.*)

Beſides the Engliſh veſſels ſent from Europe, there are three or four belonging to the ſame nation, which are every year fitted out for Batavia from different parts of India. They have attempted to ſell opium and linens there, but have been obliged to diſcontinue this importation, which was too prejudicial to private intereſt to be permitted. Their trade is limited to the purchaſe

chaſe of ſugar, which they export to all parts, and of arrack, prodigious quantities of which are conſumed in their colonies. Arrack is a kind of brandy made of rice, ſyrup of ſugar, and cocoa-tree, which, after being fermented together, are diſtilled. This is one among other branches of trade which the Dutch by their induſtry, have deprived the Portugueſe of. The art of making arrack, which was originally eſtabliſhed at Goa, has for the moſt part been transferred to Batavia.

ALL imported or exported commodities pay this city a tax of five per cent. The revenue ariſing from the cuſtoms is farmed at the rate of 1,828,000 livres. (79,975*l.*) The extent of the trade muſt not be eſtimated by this rule, which, however, is always the moſt to be depended upon. The people in office pay what they think proper, and the company pay nothing, as that would be paying to themſelves. Though they are here, as well as in other places, the only merchants in the iſland, the profits ariſing from the productions peculiar to Batavia, do not defray the expences of this celebrated mart, which amount to ſix millions. (262,500*l.*)

The manner of conducting the affairs of the Dutch company in India, and in Europe.

ONE of the articles of this expence, which is undoubtedly very great, is the maintenance of a council, which gives laws to all the ſettlements in India, and has the ſole direction of affairs. This council is compoſed of the governor of the Dutch Indies, the director-general, five directors in ordinary, and a ſmall number of extraordinary counſellors, which laſt have no votes, and only ſupply the place of the deceaſed counſellors in ordinary, till ſucceſſors are appointed.

THE power of nomination to theſe offices is veſted in the direction at home. They are open to all who have money, or are relations or retainers to the governor-general. On his demiſe, the directors in ordinary

BOOK II.

provisionally appoint a successor, who seldom fails to be confirmed in his employment. If the contrary happens, he is not admitted into the council; but may enjoy all the honours granted to the presidents that retire.

The governor-general reports to the council the state of all affairs in the island of Java; and each counsellor that of the province intrusted to his care. The director has the inspection of the chest and magazines at Batavia, which supply the rest of the settlements. All purchases, and all sales are directed by him. The signature of the company is indispensably necessary in all commercial transactions.

Though all points ought, strictly speaking, to be decided in the council by a majority of votes, the governor-general seldom fails to exercise an uncontrouled authority. This influence is owing to the care he takes to admit none but persons of inferior abilities, and to the interest they find in making their court to him, in order to advance their fortunes. If, on any occasion, he meets with an opposition that thwarts his designs, he is at liberty to take his own measures, making himself answerable for the consequences.

The governor-general, like all the rest of the officers, is appointed only for five years, but usually holds his place during life. There have formerly been instances of governors-general, who have retired from business, to pass their days in tranquillity at Batavia; but the ill treatment experienced from their successors, has, of late years, determined them to remain in their post till death. They formerly appeared in great state, but it was laid aside by governor-general Imhoff, as useless and troublesome. Though all orders of men may aspire to this dignity, none of the army, and but few of the gown, have been known to obtain it. It is

always

always filled by merchants, becauſe the ſpirit of the company is entirely commercial. Thoſe who are born in India have ſeldom ſufficient addreſs or abilities to procure it. The preſent preſident, however, has never been in Europe.

THE ſalary of this principal officer is but ſlender; he has no more than two thouſand livres (87*l.* 10*s.*) a month, and ſubſiſtence equal to his pay. The greateſt part of his income ariſes from the liberty allowed him, of taking as much as he pleaſes from the magazines at prime coſt, and from the liberty he aſſumes of trading to any extent he judges convenient. The income of the counſellors, members of the council, is likewiſe very conſiderable, though the company allows them only four hundred livres (17*l.* 10*s.*) a month, and goods to the ſame amount.

THE council meets but twice a week, unleſs when ſome extraordinary events require a more ſtrict attendance. They appoint to all civil and military employments in India, except thoſe of the writer and ſergeant, which they thought might be left, without inconvenience, at the diſpoſal of the governors of the reſpective ſettlements. On his advancement to any poſt, every man is obliged to take an oath, that he has neither promiſed, nor given any thing, to obtain his employment. This cuſtom, which is very ancient, familiarizes people to falſe oaths, and proves no bar to corruption. Whoever conſiders the number of abſurd and ridiculous oaths neceſſary to be taken at preſent in moſt countries, on being admitted into any ſociety or profeſſion whatever, will be leſs ſurprized to find prevarication ſtill prevail where perjury has led the way.

ALL connections of commerce, not excepting that of the Cape of Good Hope, are made by the council, and the reſult of them always falls under their cognizance.

BOOK II.

Even the ships that sail directly from Bengal and Ceylon, only carry to Europe the invoices of their cargoes. Their accompts, as well as all others, are sent to Batavia, where a general register is kept of all affairs.

The council of India is not a separate body, nor is it independent. It acts in subordination to the direction established in the United Provinces. Though this is, in the strict sense of the word, a direction, the care of disposing of the merchandise twice a year, is divided between six chambers concerned in this commerce. Their business is more or less according to the funds that belong to them.

The general assembly, which has the direction of the business of the company, is composed of directors of all the chambers. Amsterdam nominates eight; Zealand, four; each of the other chambers, one; and the state but one. Hence we see that Amsterdam, having half the number of voices, has only one to gain to enable it to turn the scale, where every question is to be decided by a majority of votes.

This body, which is composed of seventeen persons, meets twice or thrice a year during six years at Amsterdam, and two at Middleburg. The other chambers are too inconsiderable to enjoy this prerogative. It having been found by experience, that the success frequently depended on secret intrigues, it was proposed, about the middle of the last century, to chuse four of the most able of the seventeen deputies, and to invest them with authority to regulate all affairs in Europe and India, without the consent of their colleagues, and without being obliged even to ask their opinion.

It is true, their mysterious transactions, and the consequences of them, cannot long be kept a secret. The fleet that returns at the end of the summer, brings their books of accounts regularly from India. They are compared

compared with thoſe in Europe. The general balance of the company's accounts are always publiſhed in May. Every perſon concerned knows what he has gained or loſt. The gain is commonly conſiderable.

THE company's fund did not at firſt exceed 12,919,680 livres (585,236*l.*); Amſterdam furniſhed 7,349,839 (321,555*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*); Zealand, 2,667,764 (116,714*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*); Delft, 940,000 (41,125*l.*); Rotterdam, 354,800 (15,522*l.* 10*s.*); Hoorn, 533,736 (23,350*l.* 19*s.*); Enchuyſen, 1,073,550 (46,967*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*);

THIS fund was divided into ſums of 6,000 livres, (262*l.* 10*s.*) which were called ſhares.

THEIR numbers were two thouſand one hundred, ſince 1692; however, the profits are divided into two thouſand one hundred and thirty. It was then that the company, who had always been protected by the houſe of Orange, and ſtill ſtood in need of its aſſiſtance, made the ſtadtholder a preſent of a revenue of thirty ſhares for life.

THE ſhares ſell for ready money, or upon credit, like merchandiſe. No other form is requiſite than to ſubſtitute the name of the buyer for that of the ſeller in the company's books, the only title by which they are held by the proprietor. Avarice and the ſpirit of commerce have invented another method of acquiring a ſhare in this traffic. Perſons who have no ſtock to ſell, and who do not intend to buy, enter into a reciprocal engagement, that one of the parties ſhall deliver, and the other receive a certain number, at ſuch a time, at a price agreed upon. On the day fixed, they compute the difference between the current price of the ſtocks and their value when the agreement was made; they ſettle the balance of the account in money, and

the

BOOK II.

the tranſaction is over. The deſire of gaining, and the fear of loſing by theſe ſpeculations, is productive of great anxiety. They invent good or bad news; they favour or oppoſe the reports of others; they try to penetrate the ſecrets of the court, or to purchaſe thoſe of foreign miniſters. Theſe claſhing intereſts have often diſturbed the public tranquillity. Matters have even been carried to ſuch a height, that the public have been obliged to take meaſures to put a ſtop to the rage of ſtock-jobbing. The moſt efficacious method has been to declare all bargains of ſale for time null and void, unleſs it appears, by the company's books, that the ſeller was a proprietor at the time the bargain was made. Men of honour hold themſelves obliged to fulfil their engagements notwithſtanding this law: but it is natural to think that it muſt, and indeed it does, make theſe tranſactions leſs frequent.

THE price of ſtocks, which may be looked upon as the true thermometer of the company, has often varied. Injudicious or unſucceſsful treaties, freſh competitions, accidents unavoidably attending an extenſive commerce, the tranquillity or the diſturbances of India, and of Europe in particular, have occaſioned theſe changes. For ſome years the ſtanding price of ſtocks has been two hundred and forty per cent. more than their original value. They formerly roſe as high as ſix hundred and fifty per cent. So conſiderable an advance muſt have greatly enriched the original proprietors of theſe funds, and the families that inherit them: but the preſent purchaſers ſeldom get more than three and a half per cent. intereſt for their money. This remarkable proſperity has no parallel in hiſtory. Let us try to explain the cauſes of it.

Cauſes of the proſperity of the company.

THE earlieſt ſucceſs of the company was owing to their having the good fortune, in leſs than half a century,

ſury, to take more than three hundred Portugueſe veſſels. Theſe ſhips, ſome of which were bound for Europe, and others for different ſea-ports in India, were laden with the ſpoils of Aſia. This wealth, which the captors had the honeſty not to meddle with, brought to the company immenſe returns, or ſerved to procure them. Thus the ſales were very conſiderable, though the exports were very moderate.

THE decline of the maritime power of the Portugueſe, encouraged the Dutch to attack the ſettlements belonging to that nation, and greatly facilitated the conqueſts of them. They found the forts ſtrongly built, defended by a numerous artillery, and provided with every thing that government and the rich individuals of a victorious nation might naturally be ſuppoſed to have collected together for their protection. To form a juſt idea of this advantage, we need only conſider what it has coſt other nations to obtain permiſſion to fix in an advantageous ſituation, to build houſes, magazines, and forts; and to procure all the conveniences neceſſary for their ſecurity, or their commerce.

WHEN the company found themſelves in poſſeſſion of ſo many rich and well eſtabliſhed ſettlements, they did not give way to a graſping ambition. They were deſirous of extending their commerce, not their conqueſts. They can hardly be accuſed of any inſtances of injuſtice, except thoſe that ſeemed neceſſary to ſecure their power. The Eaſt was no longer a ſcene of bloodſhed, as it had been at the time, when the deſire of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by martial exploits, and the rage of making proſelytes, gave the Portugueſe a menacing air wherever they appeared in the Indies.

THE Dutch ſeemed to have arrived rather to revenge, and reſcue the natives of the country, than to enſlave

enſlave them. They maintained no wars with them, but ſuch as were neceſſary to procure ſettlements upon their coaſts, and to oblige them to enter into treaties of commerce. It is true, theſe people received no advantage from them, and were deprived of a great part of their liberty; but in other reſpects, their new maſters, rather leſs barbarous than the conquerors they diſpoſſeſſed, left the Indians at liberty to govern themſelves, and did not compel them to change their laws, their manners, or their religion.

By their manner of poſting and diſtributing their forces, they contrived to keep the people in awe, whom they had at firſt conciliated by their behaviour. If we except Cochin and Málacca, they had nothing upon the continent but factories and ſmall forts. The iſlands of Java and Ceylon contained their troops and magazines: and from thence their ſhips maintained their authority, and protected their trade throughout the Indies.

This trade became very conſiderable by the ſpices falling into their hands, after the deſtruction of the Portugueſe ſettlements. The demand for this valuable article has been more or leſs extenſive, according to circumſtances. At preſent they ſell every year a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of cloves in India, and three hundred and fifty thouſand in Europe: the price in both parts of the world is fixed at ten livres (8*s.* 9*d.*) a pound. Though the Dutch give no more than eight ſols, and a few deniers (about 8*d.*½ or 9*d.*) a pound, it coſts them four livres, ſix ſols (about 3*s.* 9*d.*), on account of charges and deficiencies. India takes off no more than a hundred thouſand weight of nutmegs, whereas Europe conſumes two hundred and fifty thouſand. It is bought at the rate of two ſols, three deniers (about 1*d.*⅛) a pound, and the neceſſary expences bring it

it to two livres, ten ſols (2*l*. 2*d* ½). It ſells for ſeven livres, ten ſols (6*l*. 6*d*.¾), on this ſide the cape, and for no more than five livres, twelve ſols (4*l*. 10*d*.¾), on the other ſide. This difference will never induce any merchant to bring us the nutmeg; becauſe the nuts that are ſent all over Aſia are ſhrivelled, have no oil in them, and often decay. Ten thouſand pounds of mace is ſufficient for the ſupply of India, a hundred thouſand for that of Europe. The prime coſt is ſixteen ſols, ſix deniers (about 8*d*.¾) a pound, it riſes to five livres eight ſols (about 4*l*. 8*d*.½), and is ſold every where at twelve livres ſixteen ſols (about 11*l*. 2*d*.½). As for the cinnamon, the conſumption of it in Europe does not exceed four hundred thouſand weight, and in India does not amount to two hundred thouſand; the greateſt part of which is ſent to Manilla for the uſe of Spaniſh America. It is every where ſold by the company at preſent, at the rate of ten livres ten ſols (about 9*l*. 2*d*.¼) a pound, though it does not coſt them twelve ſols (about 6*d*.½). That which they refuſe to purchaſe, as being too coarſe, is made into oil. They make preſents of it to the powers of Aſia who do not chuſe to purchaſe it: and it ſells here from about twenty to fifty or ſixty livres (17*l*. 6*d*. to 2*l*. 12*l*. 6*d*.) an ounce. The ſmell is ſo ſtrong, and at the ſame time ſo agreeable, that it would be commonly, if not univerſally uſed, if the Dutch did not aſk ſo high a price for it: it being more for their advantage to ſell this ſpice in its original form.

We cannot conclude this important article without obſerving, that in proportion as the company's profits have decreaſed, they have raiſed the price of ſpices both in India and Europe. This, though in itſelf a bad expedient, has not injured in any great degree, however,

BOOK II.

however, the ſale of cloves and nutmeg, for which there is no ſuccedaneum. But the caſe has been otherwiſe in regard to cinnamon. A ſpurious kind has, in ſeveral markets, been ſubſtituted for the genuine; and this branch of commerce is viſibly on the decline, and will continue to be more ſo every day.

The company have ſpared no pains to preſerve the excluſive trade of pepper, which they held for ſome time. Though their attempts have not been quite ſucceſsful, they have ſo far gained their point, as to maintain a conſiderable ſuperiority over their competitors. The quantity they ſell of this article in Europe amounts to five millions weight, and three millions five hundred weight in India. The company purchaſe it, upon the whole, at thirty-ſix livres (1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*) a hundred weight, and ſell it to us at a hundred livres, (4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) and from forty-eight to ſeventy-two livres, (about 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* on an average.) to the people of Aſia.

In conſequence of the ſale of ſpices, the greateſt part of the India trade muſt of courſe fall into the hands of the Dutch. The neceſſity of exporting them, gave them an opportunity of appropriating to themſelves ſeveral other branches of commerce. In proceſs of time they became maſters of the coaſting trade of Aſia, as they were already of that of Europe. This navigation employed a great number of ſhips and ſailors, who without cauſing any expence to the company contributed to its ſecurity.

By virtue of theſe ſuperior advantages, they were enabled, for a long time, ro prevent the attempts of other nations to interfere in the Indian trade, or to make them abortive. The produce of this rich country came to the Europeans through the hands of the Dutch: who never experienced thoſe reſtraints from their coun-

try,

try, which have in later times been impoſed every where elſe. The government, convinced that the proceedings of other nations neither ought, nor could be a rule to direct theirs, always gave the company leave to diſpoſe of their merchandize at the capital freely, and without reſerve. At the time this ſociety was inſtituted, the united provinces had neither any manufactures nor crude materials to work upon. It was, therefore, at that time, no inconvenience, but rather a point of great policy, to allow, and even encourage, the citizens to wear linens and ſtuffs imported from India. The various manufactures which were introduced into the republic, in conſequence of the repeal of the edict of Nantz, might have induced them to lay aſide the thoughts of purchaſing their cloathing from ſo remote a country; but the fondneſs that prevailed in Europe at that time for French faſhions, had given ſo advantageous an opening for the manufactures of the refugees, that they had not the leaſt idea of departing from the ancient channel. Since the high price of labour, the neceſſary conſequence of a redundancy of caſh, has leſſened the manufactures, and obliged the nation to trade upon a frugal plan, India ſtuffs have had a greater run than ever. It was thought that fewer inconveniencies would ariſe from enriching the Indians than the Engliſh or French, whoſe proſperity would not fail to haſten the ruin of a ſtate, whoſe opulence is only ſupported by the raſhneſs, the diſputes, or indolence of other powers.

This wiſe conduct has retarded the decline of the company; but the change is at laſt effected, notwithſtanding the flattering illuſions of an imaginary proſperity. A detail of facts will ſet this truth in a clear light.

We have ſeen that the original fund of the company, which has never been ſince augmented, was no more than

BOOK II.

than 12,919,680 livres. (565,236*l.*) With this ſlender capital, they attacked the Spaniards and Portugueſe in the Indian ſeas, gained conqueſts over theſe, then warlike nations, and over the people of Aſia, whoſe numbers, at leaſt, rendered them formidable; they formed magazines, built cities, and erected forts without number; and eſtabliſhed or ſupported their commerce by force of arms. Theſe amazing expences laſted from its firſt inſtitution till the year 1665, the æra when all their acquiſitions were made, all their ſettlements formed. During this long and reſtleſs period, the annual return, amounted to twenty and three-fourths per cent.

THE company had afterwards no occaſion to ſend one fleet after another unto the eaſt, to aſſert the dominion of thoſe ſeas, to raiſe new armies to ſubdue or awe their enemies, or to laviſh their blood and treaſure in ſecuring their poſſeſſions. Their operations were only thoſe of a briſk and advantageous commerce; and, conſequently, their dividend, till the year 1728, increaſed to about three and twenty per cent. It has ſince that time gradually fallen to twenty, fifteen, and even lower. We foreſee a ſtill farther reduction. It is neceſſary to ſtate the reaſons of this conjecture.

IT is demonſtrated, that at the cloſing of the books in 1751, the capital of the company in India did not amount to more than 71,000,000 livres, (3,106,250*l.*) the fleet that was on its way to Europe ſtood then in 19,200,000, (840,000*l.*) and the veſſels fitted out for India in 3,000,000 of livres. (131,250*l.*) They had a debt of 14,000,000 of livres (612,500*l.*) in India, and were 22,400,000 livres (980,000*l.*) in arrears in Europe. Conſequently the ſtock of the company, excluſive of their fortifications, did not exceed 56,800,000 livres. (2,485,000*l.*)

Or

Of this ſum, inconſiderable as it was, there were only 23,400,000 livres (1,023,750*l.*) in commercial effects; that is to ſay, ready money, merchandize, and good debts. The remainder conſiſted of bad debts to the amount of three millions, (131,250*l.*) and of doubtful ones to the amount of 6,600,000 livres; (288,750*l.*) 8,000,000 livres (350,000*l.*) allotted for proviſion for the table; 1,400,000 (61,250*l.*) for braſs cannon; for iron ordnance, bullets, and balls, 500,000; (21,875*l.*) for muſkets and ammunition 1,800,000; (78,750*l.*) for plate 200,000; (8,750*l.*) for ſlaves 300,000; (13,125*l.*) for cattle and horſes 200,000; (8,750*l.*) and for goods entered from different parts of India for Batavia 11,200,000 livres. (490,000*l.*)

It remains to examine what profits the company have been able to make with ſo weak a capital. Their gains, as far as it is poſſible to compute them, annually amount to 25,400,000 livres, (1,111,250*l.*) but their ordinary expences amount to 18,600,000, (813,750*l.*) and their dividend, ſuppoſing it to be twenty-five per cent. to 3,330,000; (145,687*l.* 10*s.*) conſequently they have only 470,000 livres (20,562*l.* 10*s.*) remaining, to defray the expence of war, the loſs of their magazines by fire, or their veſſels by ſea, and all that train of evils which human prudence can neither foreſee nor prevent.

This ſtate of the matter muſt appear to thoſe who ſee things at a diſtance, to have ſo little probability, that we ſhould not have ventured to warrant the truth of it, if we had not before us governor-general Moſſel's correſpondence with the direction. This diſcerning and able adminiſtrator conſiders the company as an exhauſted body that is ſuſtained by cordials: it is, as he expreſſes himſelf, a leaky veſſel, that is kept from foundering only by the pump.

BOOK II.

THIS deplorable ſituation, which will reduce the company to the neceſſity of borrowing money upon their capital, or of leſſening their dividend ſtill more, if any new misfortune ſhould happen, muſt have had its cauſes, and thoſe too very conſiderable. The moſt obvious of all is the multitude of petty wars which have followed each other without interruption.

Reaſons of the decline of the company.

THE inhabitants of the Moluccas had ſcarce recovered from the aſtoniſhment into which they had been thrown by the victories gained by the Dutch, over a people whom they looked upon as invincible, when they grew impatient of the yoke. The company, dreading the conſequences of this diſcontent, made war upon the king of Ternate, to oblige him to conſent to the extirpation of the clove-tree every where except in Amboyna. The iſlanders in Banda were utterly exterminated, becauſe they refuſed to become their ſlaves. Macaſſar, in order to ſupport their intereſts, kept up a conſiderable force for a long time. The loſs of Formoſa brought on the ruin of the factories of Tonkin and Siam. They were obliged to take up arms to ſupport the excluſive trade of Sumatra. Malacca was beſieged, its territory ravaged, and its navigation interrupted by pirates. Negapatan was twice attacked; Cochin was engaged in reſiſting the attempts of the kings of Calicut and Travancor; Ceylon has been a ſcene of perpetual diſturbances; which are full as frequent, and ſtill more violent at Java, where peace can never continue long, unleſs the company will give a reaſonable price for the commodities they require. They have engaged in bloody conteſts with an European nation, whoſe power in India increaſes every day, and whoſe character is not that of moderation. All theſe wars have proved ruinous, more ruinous, indeed, than might have been expected, becauſe thoſe who had the

management

management of them only ſought opportunities of enriching themſelves.

THESE notorious diſſenſions, have in many places been followed by odious oppreſſions; which have been practiſed at Japan, China, Cambodia, Arrackan, on the banks of the Ganges, at Achem, Coromandel, Surat in Perſia, at Baſſora, Mocho, and other places. The greateſt part of the countries in India are filled with tyrants who prefer piracy to commerce, who acknowledge no right but that of power, and think that whatever is practicable, is juſt.

THE profits accruing to the company from the places where their trade met with no interruption, for a long time counterbalanced the loſſes they ſuſtained in others by tyranny or anarchy: but other European nations deprived them of this indemnification. This competition obliged them to buy dearer, and to ſell cheaper. Their natural advantages might, perhaps, have enabled them to ſupport this misfortune, if their rivals had not determined to throw the trade of India to India into the hands of private merchants. By this expreſſion we are to underſtand the operations neceſſary to tranſport the merchandiſe of one country in Aſia to another in Aſia; from China, Bengal, and Surat, for inſtance, to the Philippines, Perſia, and Arabia. By means of this circulation, by a multiplicity of exchanges, the Dutch obtained for nothing, or for a trifle, the rich cargoes they brought to Europe. The activity, oeconomy and ſkill of the free merchants drove the company from all the ſea-ports where equal favour was ſhewn. Their flag was ſeldom ſeen in the roads where eight or ten Engliſh veſſels appeared.

THIS revolution, which ſo clearly pointed out to them what ſteps they had to take, did not ſet them right with reſpect to a meaſure that was deſtructive to trade.

BOOK II.

They had been accuſtomed to carry all their Indian and European merchandiſe to Batavia, from whence it was diſtributed among the different factories who ſold it to advantage. This cuſtom occaſioned expence and loſs of time, the inconvenience of which were not perceived while their profits were ſo enormous. When other nations carried on a direct trade, it became indiſpenſably neceſſary to relinquiſh a ſyſtem, not only bad in itſelf, but incompatible with circumſtances. The dominion of cuſtom, however, ſtill prevails; and it was ſaid to be owing to the company's apprehenſions that their ſervants would make an ill uſe of any innovation, that they did not adopt a meaſure, the neceſſity of which was ſo fully demonſtrated.

This motive was probably nothing more than a pretext which ſerved as a cover to private intereſt. The frauds of the commiſſaries were more than winked at. The principal ones had for the moſt part been exact in their conduct. They were under the direction of admirals who viſited all the factories, were inveſted with abſolute powers in India, and, at the concluſion of every voyage, gave an account in Europe of their adminiſtration. In proportion as the government became leſs active, the agents, who were not ſo ſtrictly watched, grew more remiſs. They abandoned themſelves to effeminacy, a habit of which is eaſily contracted in hot countries. The number of theſe perſons was obliged to be increaſed: and no one made a capital point of correcting an abuſe, which gave the people in power an opportunity of providing for their dependents. They went to Aſia with a view of making a conſiderable fortune in a ſhort time. Being prohibited from trading; their appointments not being ſufficient to maintain them, and all honeſt ways of enriching themſelves being ſhut againſt them, they had recourſe to malpractices. The company were cheated

cheated in all their affairs by factors who had no intereſt in their proſperity. Theſe diſorders grew to ſuch a height, that it was propoſed to allow a premium of five per cent. upon all commodities ſold or bought, which was to be divided among all the ſervants according to their ranks. Upon theſe terms, they were obliged to take an oath that their account was juſt. This arrangement laſted but five years; it being found that corruption prevailed as much as ever; the premium and the oath were aboliſhed; and from this period the agents aſk any conſideration for their trouble that their avarice hath prompted them to.

The contagion, which at firſt infected the lower factories, gradually reached the principal ſettlements, and, at laſt, Batavia itſelf. So great a ſimplicity prevailed there at firſt, that the members of the government uſually dreſſed like common ſailors, and never wore decent cloaths but in their council-chamber. This modeſty was accompanied with ſo diſtinguiſhed a probity, that before the year 1650, not one remarkable fortune had been made: but this unheard-of prodigy of virtue could not be of long duration. We have ſeen warlike republics conquer and make acquiſitions for their country, and fill the public treaſury with the ſpoils of kingdoms. But we ſhall never ſee the citizens of a commercial republic amaſs riches, for a particular body in the ſtate, from which they derive neither glory, nor profit. The auſterity of republican principles muſt of courſe give place to the example of the people of the eaſt. This relaxation of manners was more ſenſibly perceived in the capital of the colony, where the articles of luxury that came from all parts, and the air of magnificence it was thought neceſſary to throw round the adminiſtration, introduced a taſte for ſhew. This taſte occaſioned a corruption of manners; and this corrup-

BOOK II.

tion of manners made all methods of getting money alike indifferent. Even the appearance of decency was ſo far diſregarded, that a governor-general finding himſelf convicted of plundering the finances without mercy, made no ſcruple of juſtifying his conduct by ſhewing a carte blanche ſigned by the company.

How could the conduct of the governors be remedied when their depravation could not be foreſeen in the infancy of the republic, where a purity of manners and frugality prevailed? In theſe ſettlements of the Dutch, the laws had been made for virtuous men; other manners required other laws.

These diſorders might have been repreſſed in their firſt beginnings, if they had not naturally made the ſame progreſs in Europe as in Aſia. But as a river that overflows its banks collects more mud than water in its paſſage, ſo the vices which riches bring along with them, increaſe faſter than riches themſelves. The poſt of director, which was at firſt allotted to able merchants, was, at length, veſted in great families, where it is held with the magiſtracies, by virtue of which it was firſt procured. Theſe families, engaged in political views, or in the ſervice of adminiſtration, conſidered theſe poſts, which they had raviſhed from the company, only in the light of a conſiderable income, or an eaſy proviſion for their relations; ſome of them even as opportunities of making a bad uſe of their credit. The buſineſs of receiving accounts, hearing debates and carrying on the moſt important tranſactions of the company, was left to a ſecretary, who, under the plauſible title of advocate, became the ſole manager of all the affairs. The governors, who met but twice a year, in ſpring and autumn, at the arrival and departure of the fleets, forgot the habit and track of all buſineſs which requires a conſtant attention. They were obliged to repoſe an entire

tire confidence in a perſon appointed by the ſtate to make extracts from all the diſpatches that arrived from India, and to draw up the form of the anſwers that were to be returned. This guide, who was ſometimes incapable, often bribed, and always ſuſpicious, frequently led thoſe he had the conducting of the brink of a precipice where he left them to fall.

The ſpirit of commerce ariſes from intereſt, and intereſt always occaſions diſputes. Each chamber wanted to have docks, arſenals, and magazines, for the ſhips they were to fit out. Offices were multiplied, and frauds were encouraged by ſo wrong a proceeding.

It was a maxim in every department to furniſh goods as it had a right to do, in proportion to its armaments. Theſe goods were not alike proper for the places for which they were deſtined, and were either not ſold at all, or ſold to diſadvantage.

When circumſtances called for extraordinary ſupplies, a ſpirit of puerile vanity, which is afraid of betraying its weakneſs by confeſſing its wants, led them to avoid borrowing money in Holland, where they would have paid only an intereſt of three per cent; and to have recourſe to Batavia, where money was at ſix, or more frequently to Bengal, or the coaſt of Coromandel, where it was at nine per cent. and ſometimes much higher. Abuſes were multiplied on all ſides.

The ſtates-general, whoſe buſineſs it was to examine, every three years, into the ſtate of the company; to ſatisfy themſelves that they kept within the limits aſſigned by their grant; to ſee that juſtice was adminiſtered to the perſons concerned; and that the trade was carried on in a manner that was not prejudicial to the republic; might, and ought to have, put a ſtop to theſe irregularities. Whatever their reaſons might be, this was never done. In conſequence of this behaviour,

BOOK II.

they had the mortification to ſee the proprietors unite in conferring upon the laſt ſtadtholder the ſupreme direction of their affairs in Europe and India; without being aware of the danger that might reſult from the influence that a perpetual preſident of the ſtate muſt have over a rich and powerful body. Notwithſtanding this, the dividend is at this time larger, and the price of ſtocks higher. A certain premature death, has drawn a veil over the plan of reformation that had been concerted. Neceſſity will oblige them to reſume it, with ſuch wiſe precautions, no doubt, as may prevent the abuſe of that power, againſt which they think themſelves bound to proteſt.

Meaſures that remain to be taken for the reeſtabliſhment of the company's affairs.

The firſt ſtep muſt be, to convince themſelves that the government of the company is too complicated even in Europe. A direction veſted in ſo many chambers, and in ſuch a number of directors, muſt be attended with infinite inconveniences. It is impoſſible that the ſame ſpirit ſhould operate every where alike, and that the tranſactions ſhould be carried on without receiving a tincture from the oppoſite views of the perſons who conduct them in different places, without concert or connection. Unity of deſign, ſo neceſſary in the fine arts, is equally advantageous in buſineſs. It will be in vain objected that it is the intereſt of all democratical ſtates to divide their wealth, and to make the eſtates of the citizens as equal as poſſible. This maxim in itſelf true, is not applicable to a republic that has no territory, and maintains itſelf merely by its commerce. It will therefore be expedient that every article bought or ſold ſhould fall under one general inſpection, and be brought into one port. The ſavings that would be made, would be the leaſt advantage the company would receive from this alteration.

From this place, which would be the center of intelligence from all quarters, deputations might be ſent to inquire into, and correct abuſes in the remoteſt parts of Aſia. The conduct of the Dutch towards the Indian princes, from whom they have forcibly extorted an excluſive commerce, will be one of the firſt objects of their conſideration. They have, for a long time, behaved towards them with an inſolent pride; have attempted to learn the ſecrets of their government; and to engage them in quarrels with their neighbours; they they have fomented diviſions among their ſubjects, and ſhewn a diſtruſt mixed with animoſity; they have obliged them to make ſacrifices which they never promiſed; and deprived them of advantages ſecured to them by the terms of capitulation. All theſe intolerable acts of tyranny, occaſion frequent diſturbances, which ſometimes end in hoſtilities. To reſtore harmony, which is a taſk that grows more neceſſary and more difficult every day, agents ſhould be appointed, who, to a ſpirit of moderation, join a knowledge of the intereſts, cuſtoms, language, religion, and manners of theſe nations. At preſent, perhaps, the company may be unprovided with perſons of this character: but it concerns them to procure them. Perhaps too they might find them among the ſuperintendants of their factories, which they have every reaſon to induce them to abandon.

The diſcerning part of the merchants of all nations unanimouſly agree, that the Dutch ſettlements in India are too numerous: and that by leſſening their number, they would greatly reduce their expences, without confining their commerce. The company cannot poſſibly be ignorant of what is ſo generally known. One would be apt to think, they were induced to continue the factories that were chargeable to them, to prevent a ſuſpicion that they were not in a condition to maintain them.

But

BOOK II.

But this weak conſideration ſhould ſway them no longer. All that deſerves their attention, is to make a due diſtinction between what it is convenient to part with, and advantageous to retain. They have before them a ſeries of facts and experiments, which muſt prevent any miſtake in an arrangement of ſuch importance.

In the ſubordinante factories, which they may think proper to continue for the advantage of trade, they will demoliſh all uſeleſs fortifications; they will diſſolve the councils eſtabliſhed out of oſtentation rather than neceſſity: and they will proportion the number of their ſervants to the extent of their buſineſs. Let the company call to mind thoſe happy times, when two or three factors choſen with judgment, ſent out cargoes infinitely more conſiderable than any they have received ſince; when they raiſed amazing profits upon their goods, which, in proceſs of time, have been diverted into the pockets of their numerous agents; and then they will not heſitate a moment to return to their old maxims, and to prefer a ſimplicity which made them rich, to an empty parade that ruins them. Theſe diſorders were owing to their own miſconduct. The Europeans, ſettled in their colonies, lived in diſgrace if they were not engaged in their ſervice. Every expedient was tried to extricate themſelves from a ſtate of humiliation which it was impoſſible to endure. The ſuperintendants ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted; and employments were multiplied without neceſſity and without meaſure. Let them diſcountenance a prejudice, which, in whatever light it is viewed, is unjuſt and pernicious; and the reformation we are pointing out will eaſily be accompliſhed.

It will be attended with greater difficulties in the large colonies. The company's agents there are a more numerous, reputable, and in proportion, a more opulent body, and conſequently leſs diſpoſed to ſubmit to any regulations.

gulations. It is, however, neceſſary to reduce them to order: ſince the abuſes they have either introduced, or winked at, muſt ſooner or later inevitably bring on the ruin of the intereſts, over which they preſide. The miſmanagement that prevails in the work-ſhops, magazines, docks, and arſenals at Batavia, and other large ſettlements, is ſcarcely to be paralleled. The mal-practices of the ſuperintendants and ſubordinate officers are ſo notorious, that according to the moſt favourable repreſentations, at leaſt two thirds might be ſaved if the buildings, works and repairs were executed by contract.

These arrangements would lead to others ſtill more conſiderable. At their firſt riſe, the company eſtabliſhed fixed and preciſe rules, which were not to be departed from on any pretence, or on any occaſion whatſoever. Their ſervants were mere machines, the ſmalleſt movements of which were wound up before-hand. They judged this abſolute and univerſal direction neceſſary to correct what was amiſs in the choice of their agents, who were moſt of them drawn out of obſcurity, and had not the advantage of that careful education which would have enlarged their ideas. The company themſelves did not ſuffer the leaſt variation in their own conduct, and to this invariable uniformity, they attributed the ſucceſs of their enterpriſes. The frequent misfortunes, which this ſyſtem occaſioned, did not prevail with them to lay it aſide; and they always adhered obſtinately to their firſt plan. In this they were not guided by reflection, but followed a blind impulſe. At this time of the day, when they can no longer commit errors with impunity, it is neceſſary they ſhould make ſome alterations. Tired of maintaining a diſadvantageous ſtruggle with the free traders of other nations, they ſhould reſolve to leave the commerce from

one

BOOK II.

one part of India to another, to private perſons. This happy innovation would make their colonies richer and more powerful. They themſelves would reap more advantage from the cuſtoms that would be paid in their factories, than they receive from the faint efforts of an expiring commerce. Every thing, even the ſhips that are too old to be ſent to Europe, would turn to account. The navigators in theſe ſettlements would be glad to make uſe of them in thoſe calm ſeas.

PERHAPS the company might carry the plan of reformation ſtill further. Would it not be a proper ſcheme to reſign the trade of linens exported to Europe to individuals? Thoſe who are acquainted with their operations, know very well that they gain no more than thirty per cent. by this article, which is always ſold to them at a dear rate by their agents, though it is bought with their own money. If we deduct from this profit, the averages, the intereſt of advance-money, the ſalaries of the commiſſaries, and the hazards at ſea, the remainder will be very trifling. Would not twenty per cent. freight, which the free merchants would readily give, be of greater advantage to the company?

THEY would then be releaſed from the cares and reſtraints of their preſent commerce, and the port of Batavia would be open to all nations; who would load their ſhips with the merchandize of Europe; with the goods bought by the company, at a low price, of the Indian princes, with whom they carry on an excluſive trade; and with the ſpices deſtined for all the ſea-ports in Aſia, where the conſumption would neceſſarily increaſe. The ſacrifice they would make to the general freedom of trade, would be amply rewarded by the certain, eaſy and advantageous ſale of ſpices in Europe. The progreſs of corruption would be ſtopt by adhering

to

to ſo plain a rule of adminiſtration; and order would be eſtabliſhed on ſuch firm grounds, that it would require but little care to preſerve it.

The neceſſity of making the internal arrangements we propoſe, is ſo much the more urgent, as the company are in imminent danger of loſing the conſtituent part of their power, and of having the ſpice trade taken from them.

It is confidently reported that the clove-tree is no longer to be found any where but at Amboyna; but this is a miſtake. Before the Dutch got poſſeſſion of the Moluccas, properly ſo called, all the iſlands in this archipelago were covered with theſe trees: they ordered them to be pulled up, and continue to ſend two ſloops, each having twelve ſoldiers on board, with orders to deſtroy it wherever it made its appearance. But not to lay any ſtreſs here upon the baſeneſs of ſuch avarice, which counteracts the bounty of nature, theſe extirpators, with all their induſtry, can only execute their commiſſion upon the coaſt. Were three hundred men to be continually employed in traverſing the foreſts, they would not be able fully to anſwer the intention of their employers. The earth rebels againſt this devaſtation, and ſeems to reſiſt the wickedneſs of men. The clove ſprings up under the inſtrument that deſtroys it, and mocks the unfeeling induſtry of the Dutch, who wiſh to ſee nothing grow but for themſelves. The Engliſh that are ſettled at Sumatra have, for ſome years, ſent cloves to their mother country, which they obtain from the inhabitants of Bally, who gather them in places where, it is pretended, they no longer exiſt.

It is equally a miſtake that the nutmeg-tree is confined to Banda: it grows in New Guinea, and in the iſlands that lie near that coaſt. The Malays, the only people who held any correſpondence with theſe fierce

nations.

BOOK II.

nations, have carried the produce of this tree to Batavia; the precautions that have been taken to conceal the knowledge of this fact have only ſerved the more fully to confirm it; and its truth is ſupported by ſo many atteſtations, that it is impoſſible to entertain a doubt of it.

If, however, the certainty of theſe facts ſhould be called in queſtion; if either habit or tradition ſhould make it believed that the Spaniards ſettled at the Philippines could not, with great advantage to themſelves, eaſily procure the clove and nutmeg-tree; it muſt on all hands be acknowledged, that, in theſe remote ſeas, an event has happened, which merits a ſerious attention. The ſtrait of Lombok has been diſcovered by the Engliſh: in conſequence of this diſcovery, they have penetrated as far as Saffara, which lies between New Guinea and the Molucca Iſlands. This iſland is found to be in the ſame latitude, to have the ſame ſoil, and the ſame climate, with thoſe that produce the ſpices, and they have formed a ſettlement upon it. Is it credible that this active and perſevering nation will loſe ſight of the only object they can propoſe to themſelves from this ſituation? or that they will be diſcouraged by the obſtacles they may meet with? Could we ſuppoſe the company ſo little acquainted with the character of their rivals, their ſituation would no longer be doubtful; it would be deſperate.

Setting aſide this conteſt between trading intereſts, the Dutch have reaſon to be apprehenſive of one of a ſlower and more deſtructive kind. All circumſtances, particularly their manner of conducting their forces both by ſea and land, conſpire to invite their enemies to attack them.

The company have a fleet of about a hundred ſhips, from ſix hundred to a thouſand tons burthens. Twenty-eight or thirty are annually ſent out from Europe, and a ſmaller

a ſmaller number returns. Thoſe that are not in a condition to return, make voyages in India, where the ſeas, except thoſe in the neighbourhood of Japan, are ſo calm, that weaker veſſels may ſail in them with ſafety. In times of profound peace the ſhips ſail ſeparately, but on their return they always form two fleets at the cape, which come by the Orcades, where two ſhips belonging to the Republic wait to convoy them to Holland. In time of war this detour was contrived to avoid the enemy's privateers; and they continue to make uſe of it in time of peace, to prevent contraband trade. It was found difficult to procure ſailors who would encounter the cold blaſts of the north, after being uſed to hot climates; but this difficulty was ſurmounted, by offering two months pay extraordinary. This cuſtom has been continued even when contrary winds or ſtorms drove the fleets into the channel. The chamber of Amſterdam attempted but once to ſuppreſs this cuſtom; but they were in danger of being burnt by the populace, who, like the reſt of the nation, diſapproved of the arbitrary proceedings of the company, and lamented their excluſive privilege. The company's navy is commanded by officers who were orginally ſailors or cabin-boys; they are qualified for pilots, and for working a ſhip, but they have not the leaſt notion of naval evolutions, not to mention that from the defects of their education they can have no idea of the love of glory, or of inculcating it into that claſs of men who are under their command.

THEIR conduct is ſtill worſe with regard to their land forces. Soldiers who have deſerted from every nation in Europe may, indeed, be expected not to want courage; but their proviſion and clothing is ſo bad, and they are ſo much harraſſed, that they are averſe from the ſervice. The officers, who, for the moſt part, originally belonged to ſome low profeſſion, in which they got a ſum ſufficient to purchaſe their poſts, are incapable of infuſing

BOOK II.

infuſing into them a military ſpirit. The contempt in which a people purely commercial hold thoſe whoſe ſituation dooms them to an involuntary power, together with their averſion from war, contributes greatly to degrade and diſpirit them. To theſe ſeveral cauſes of their inactivity, weakneſs, and want of diſcipline, may be ſubjoined another, which is equally applicable both to the land and ſea ſervice.

THERE is not, perhaps, in the moſt ſlaviſh governments ſo diſhonourable and iniquitous a mode of raiſing ſeamen and ſoldiers, as that which has, for a long time, been practiſed by the company. Their agents, called by the people *vendeurs d'ames* (kidnappers) who are always buſy in the territories, and even beyond the boundaries of the republick, make it their employment to intice credulous men to embark for India, in hopes of making a conſiderable fortune in a ſhort time. Thoſe who are allured by the bait are enrolled, and receive two months pay, which is always given to their betrayer. They enter into an engagement of three hundred livres, (13l. 2s. 6d.) which is the profit of the perſon that enliſts them, who is obliged by this agreement to furniſh them with ſome clothes worth about a tenth part of that ſum. The debt is ſecured by one of the company's bills, but it is never paid unleſs the debtor lives long enough to diſcharge it out of his pay.

A COMPANY which ſupports itſelf, notwithſtanding this contempt for the military order and with ſoldiers ſo corrupted, ſhould enable us to determine the progreſs which the arts of negociation have made in theſe latter ages. It has ever been neceſſary to ſupply the want of ſtrength by treaties, by patience, by moderation, and by artifice; but republicans ſhould be well informed, that ſuch a ſtate can only be a precarious one, and that political meaſures how well ſoever they may be combined, are not always able to reſiſt the torrent of

of violence and the neceſſity of circumſtances. The company ſhould have troops compoſed of citizens, which is by no means impoſſible. It can never inſpire that public ſpirit of enthuſiaſm for glory which it has not itſelf. In this reſpect it is the ſame with a company as with a government, which ſhould form its troops upon thoſe principles only that are the baſis of its own conſtitution. Oeconomy, and the deſire of gain are the principles of adminiſtration adopted by the company. Theſe are the motives that ſhould attach the ſoldier to their ſervice. As he is engaged in commercial expeditions, he ſhould be aſſured of a reward proportioned to the means he hath exerted in forwarding their ſucceſs, and his pay ſhould be made out to him in ſtock. Then perſonal intereſt, far from weakening the general intentions, will only ſerve to ſtrengthen them.

If theſe reflections ſhould not prevail upon the company to alter this important part of their adminiſtration, let them at leaſt be awakened by the proſpect of the dangers that threaten them. If they were attacked in India, they would be deprived of their ſettlements there in leſs time than it has taken them to wreſt them from the Portugueſe. Their beſt towns have neither covert ways, nor glacis, nor outworks, and would not hold out a week. They are never ſtocked with proviſions, though they are always filled with warlike ſtores. There are not more than ten thouſand men, whites and blacks, to defend them and there ſhould be double that number. Theſe diſadvantages would not be compenſated by the reſources of the navy. The company has not a ſingle veſſel of the line in all its ports, and it would be impoſſible to form the merchantmen as ſhips of war. The largeſt of thoſe that return to Europe have not one hundred men; and if the men diſperſed in all the ſhips that ſail to India were collected, there would not be a ſufficient number to form the ſingle ſhip's crew. Any man accuſtomed to calcu-

BOOK II.

late probable events would not ſcruple to ſay, that the power of the Dutch might be annihilated in Aſia, before the ſtate could come to the aſſiſtance of the company. The only baſis upon which this apparently gigantic Coloſſus is fixed, is the Molucca iſlands. Six men of war and fifteen hundred land forces would be more than ſufficient to ſecure the conqueſt of them, which might be effected either by the French or the Engliſh.

If the French ſhould form this enterprize, their ſquadron might ſail from the iſle of France, and bear down upon Ternate, where a commencement of hoſtilities would give the firſt intelligence of its arrival in thoſe ſeas. A fort without outworks, and which might be battered from the ſhips, would not make much reſiſtance. Amboyna which formerly had a rampart, a bad ditch, and four ſmall baſtions, has been ſo frequently demoliſh by earthquakes, that it cannot be in a condition to put a ſtop to an enterpriſing enemy for two days. Banda has its peculiar difficulties. There is no bottom round theſe iſlands, and there are ſuch violent currents, that if two or three channels which lead up to it were miſſed, the veſſels would be unavoidably carried away under the wind. But this might be eaſily prevented by the pilots of Amboyna. There is nothing more to attack than a wall without a ditch, or a covert way, defended only by four baſtions in bad condition. A ſmall fort erected upon an eminence that commands the place, could not defend itſelf four and twenty hours.

All thoſe who have ſeen the Moluccas, and examined them attentively, agree, that they would not hold out one month againſt the forces we have mentioned. If, as it is probable, the garriſons, which are not half ſo numerous as they ought to be, and exaſperated with the manner in which they are treated, ſhould refuſe to fight, or ſhould make but a feeble reſiſtance, the conqueſt

queſt would be more rapid. To ſecure it as firmly as it deſerves, it would be neceſſary to take poſſeſſion of Batavia; a circumſtance not ſo difficult as it may ſeem to be. The ſquadron, with the ſoldiers that were not left in garriſon, and as many of the Dutch troops as ſhould have joined the conqueror, with a timely reinforcement of eight or nine hundred men, would infallibly accompliſh this enterprize, of which we ſhall be convinced if we have a juſt idea of Batavia.

THE moſt common obſtacle to the beſieging of maritime places is the difficulty of landing; which is by no means the caſe at the capital of Java. Governor-general Imhoff, who was apprized of this circumſtance, attempted in vain to remedy it, by conſtructing a fort at the mouth of the river which embelliſhes the city. If theſe works, erected at a great expence by perſons of no ſkill, had even been brought to perfection, they would not not have improved the ſituation much: the landing, which would have been made impracticable in one place, would always have been open by means of ſeveral rivers that empty themſelves into the road, and are all navigable by ſloops.

THE troops being once formed upon land would find nothing but an immenſe city without a covert way, defended by a rampart, and by ſome low and irregular baſtions, ſurrounded by a ditch formed on one ſide by a river, and on the other by ſome marſhy canals, which might eaſily be filled with running water; it was formerly defended by a citadel; but Imhoff, by building between the city and this fortreſs, ſome extenſive and high barracks, intercepted the communication. He was afterwards told of this blunder, and he could think of no better way of rectifying it, than to demoliſh two half baſtions of the fortreſs, looking towards the city. Since that time they have been joined to each other.

But if the fortifications were as perfect as they are bad; if the artillery, which is immenſe were directed by men of judgment; if even Cohorn or Vauban were ſubſtituted in the room of thoſe unſkilful perſons, who have now the charge of the works, the place could not hold out. It would require at leaſt four thouſand men to defend it, and there are ſeldom more than ſix hundred. Neither indeed are the Dutch ſo ignorant as to place their confidence in ſo feeble a garriſon: they depend much more upon the inundations they are able to raiſe by opening the ſluices that confine ſeveral ſmall rivers. They imagine that theſe inundations would retard the operations of the ſiege, and would deſtroy the beſiegers by the diſtempers they would occaſion. With a little more reflection they would diſcover, that the place muſt ſurrender, before theſe drainings had taken effect.

The plan of conqueſt that France might form, would equally ſuit the intereſts of Great Britain, with this difference, that the Engliſh would in the firſt place make themſelves maſters of the Cape of Good Hope, an excellent harbour, which they are in want of for their voyages to the Indies.

The Cape may be attacked in two places; the firſt is Table Bay, at the extremity of which the fort is ſituated. It is an open road, where the violence of the ſea is broken only by a ſmall iſland, and is ſo bad in the months of June, July, Auguſt and September, that in 1722 twenty-five ſhips were loſt there, and ſeven in 1736. Though all navigators prefer it in the other ſeaſons of the year, on account of the acommodations they find there, it is probable that a landing would not be attempted here, becauſe the two ſides of the harbour are covered with batteries, which it would be hazardous, and perhaps, impoſſible to ſilence. Falſe Bay would undoubtedly be preferable, which though at thirty leagues diſtance

from

from the former by ſea, is yet no more than three leagues from the capital on the land ſide. The landing would be effected quietly in this place of ſecurity, and the troops would gain, without oppoſition an eminence which commands the fort. As this citadel in other reſpects confined is only defended by a garriſon of three or four hundred men at moſt, it might be reduced in leſs than a day's time by a few bombs. The inhabitants of the colony diſperſed throughout an immenſe ſpace, and ſeparated from each other by deſerts, would not have time to come to its relief. Perhaps, they would not if it were even in their power. We may be allowed to ſuppoſe that the oppreſſion under which they groan, may make them wiſh for a change of government. The loſs of the Cape would, perhaps, render it impoſſible for the company to convey to India the ſuccours neceſſary for the defence of their ſettlements, or would at leaſt make thoſe ſuccours leſs certain and more expenſive. The Engliſh, on the contrary, would draw great conveniences, even immenſe advantages from this conqueſt, if the ſpirit of monopoly, which reaſon and humanity will always oppoſe, could once be laid aſide.

The Britiſh colonies of North America have iron, wood, rice, ſugar, and a hundred other articles of conſumption, which the Cape is entirely without. They might be conveyed thither, and wines and brandy received in exchange. The ſoil and climate of this part of Africa are ſo favourable to the cultivation of the vine, that an immenſe extent of land may be allotted to it. If a regular conſumption could be eſtabliſhed, we ſhould ſoon ſee a ſpace of two hundred leagues covered with vineyards. Toleration, and the mildneſs of the government; the proſpect of a comfortable ſituation

BOOK II.

would attract cultivators from all quarters. They would ſoon be in a condition to furniſh wholeſome and agreeable liquors in plenty to Britiſh America, and, perhaps, the metropolis itſelf might one day ſupply itſelf with wine from the ſame plentiful ſource, which it unwillingly purchaſes from France.

If the republic of Holland ſhould not conſider as imaginary the dangers to which our love of the general good of nations makes us apprehend her commerce may be expoſed, ſhe ought to omit no precaution to prevent them. She muſt conſtantly keep in mind, that the company, from its beginning to the year 1722, has received about fifteen hundred ſhips, the freight of which amounted in India to 703,366,000 livres, (30,772,262*l.* 10*s.*) and has been ſold in Europe for double that ſum: that by ſending 6,000,000 of livres (262,500*l.*) into India, annual returns of 40,000,000 (1,750,000*l.*) are procured, only the fifth part of which at moſt is conſumed in the united provinces; that at the renewal of each grant, the company has given conſiderable ſums to the republic; that it has aſſiſted the ſtate whenever it has ſtood in need of aſſiſtance; that it has raiſed a multitude of private fortunes, which have prodigiouſly increaſed the riches of the nation; in ſhort that it has doubled, perhaps, trebled the activity of the metropolis, by furniſhing it with frequent opportunities of forming great enterprizes.

The company cuſtomarily pay to the ſtate duties of import for all the merchandiſe they receive from India. By a regulation of the 10th of July 1677, they are annually to pay thirty-two thouſand livres (1,400*l.*) in lieu of the duties of export. They obtained the renewal of their grant in 1743, with this formal ſtipulation, that the republic ſhould receive three per cent. upon the dividend. It is thought, however, that the government

ment have a right to derive greater advantages from an excluſive privilege of ſuch importance.

It has always been acknowledged by all nations whatever the form of their government might be, that the eſtates acquired in any country ought to contribute to the expences of government. The reaſon of this grand maxim is evident to all capacities. Private fortunes are ſo eſſentially connected with the proſperity of the public, that when that is injured the others muſt ſuffer of courſe. Thus, when the ſubjects of a ſtate ſerve it with their fortunes or their perſons, they do nothing but defend their own private intereſt. The proſperity of the country is the proſperity of each citizen. This maxim, which is true in all governments, has a particular propriety when applied to free ſocieties.

Further than this, there are bodies of men, whoſe intereſt, either from the nature of thoſe bodies, their extenſive relations, or the variety of their views, are more eſſentially connected with the common intereſt. Of this kind is the India company in Holland. The enemies to its trade are enemies to the republic; and its ſecurity is eſtabliſhed on the ſame baſis with that of the ſtate.

In the opinion of men of the beſt diſcernment, the national debt has ſenſibly weakened the United Provinces, and affected the general welfare, by gradually increaſing the load of taxes. The republic can never be reſtored to its original ſplendor, till it is releaſed from the enormous burthen under which it groans; and this relief can only be expected from a company, which it has always encouraged, protected and favoured. To place this powerful body in a ſituation to render the higheſt ſervices to the country, it will by no means be neceſſary to reduce the profits of the proprietors;

BOOK II.

prietors; it will be ſufficient to bring it back to thoſe principles of oeconomy and ſimplicity, and to that plan of adminiſtration, which laid the foundation of its early proſperity.

Former good conduct of the Dutch, and their preſent degeneracy.

A REFORMATION ſo neceſſary will admit of no delay. This confidence is due to a government, which has always endeavoured to maintain a great number of citizens within itſelf, and to employ only a ſmall part of them in its diſtant ſettlements. It is at the expence of all Europe that Holland has continually increaſed the number of its ſubjects. the liberty of conſcience allowed there, and the moderation of the laws, have attracted all perſons who were oppreſſed in a hundred different places by a ſpirit of intoleration and the ſeverity of government.

THE republic has procured means of ſubſiſtence to all perſons who have been willing to ſettle and work among them: we have ſeen at different times the inhabitants of a country ruined by war, ſeeking ſecurity and employment in Holland.

AGRICULTURE could never be a conſiderable object in Holland, although the land is cultivated to as great a degree of perfection as poſſible. But the herring fiſhery ſupplies the place of agriculture. This is a new method of ſubſiſtence, a ſchool for ſeamen. Born upon the waters, they plough the ſea, from whence they get their food: they grow familiar with the ſtorms, and learn without riſque, to overcome dangers.

THE traffic of tranſport which the republic continually carries on from one European nation to another, is alſo a kind of navigation, which, without deſtroying men, ſupplies them with ſubſiſtence by labour.

IN ſhort, navigation which depopulates a part of Europe, peoples Holland. It is as it were the produce of the

the country. Her ſhips are her landed eſtates, which ſhe makes the moſt of, at the expence of the ſtranger.

THE elegant accomodations of life are known in Holland without being an object of purſuit: the refinements of behaviour are adopted with moderation; thoſe of caprice they are unacquainted with. A ſpirit of order, frugality, and even avarice prevails throughout the nation, and has been carefully kept up by the government.

THE colonies are conducted by the ſame ſpirit. They are peopled in general with the ſcum of the nation or with foreigners; but rigid laws, an equitable adminiſtration, an eaſy ſubſiſtence, and uſeful labour ſoon infuſe morals into theſe men who were exiled from Europe, becauſe they wanted them.

THE ſame deſign of preſerving the population prevails in the military ſyſtem; the republic entertains a great number of foreign troops in Europe; and ſome in the colonies.

THE ſailors in Holland are well paid; and foreign ſeamen are conſtantly employed either on board their trading veſſels, or their men of war.

FOR the purpoſes of commerce, it is neceſſary that harmony ſhould be preſerved at home, and peace abroad. No people, except the Swiſs, take more care to keep on good terms with their neighbours; and they endeavour, ſtill more than the Swiſs, to encourage peace among them. The republic preſerves unanimity among her citizens, by very excellent laws, which preſcribe the duties of every ſtation, by a ſpeedy and diſintereſted adminiſtration of juſtice, and by regulations admirably well adapted to the merchants. She has ſhewn the opinion ſhe entertains of the neceſſity of good faith by her obſervance of treaties, and has endeavoured to inculcate the ſame principle among individuals.

BOOK II.

In a word, we know of no nation in Europe that has conſidered better what its united advantages of ſituation, ſtrength, and population allows it to undertake, or that has known and followed more effectually the means of increaſing both its population and its ſtrength. We know of none, which having ſuch objects as an extenſive commerce and liberty, mutually attracting and ſupporting each other, hath conducted itſelf in a better manner for the preſervation of both the one and the other.

But how are theſe manners already changed and degenerated from the purity of a republican government. Perſonal intereſts, which become laudable by being combined, are now totally ſelfiſh, and corruption is become general. There is no patriotiſm in that country, which above all others in the univerſe ſhould inſpire its inhabitants with firmer attachments. In reality, what patriotic ſentiments might we not expect from a nation that can ſay to itſelf; this land which I inhabit, has been fertilized by me; 'tis I who have embelliſhed, who have created it. This threatening ſea, which deluged all our plains, rages in vain againſt the powerful dikes I have oppoſed to its fury. I have purified this air which ſtagnant waters had filled with fatal exhalations. It is by my means that ſuperb cities ſtand now upon the ſlime and mud, over which the ocean once rolled it waves. The ports I have conſtructed, the canals I have digged, receive the productions of the whole univerſe which I diſpenſe at pleaſure. The inheritances of other nations are only poſſeſſions which man diſputes with man; that which I ſhall leave to my poſterity, I have raviſhed from the elements which conſpired againſt my territory, and am now the maſter of it. It is here that I have eſtabliſhed a new arrangement of nature, a new ſyſtem of manners. I have done

every

every thing where there was nothing. Air, land, government, liberty, all theſe are my works. I enjoy the glory of the paſt, and when I caſt a look into futurity, I ſee with ſatisfaction that my aſhes will reſt quietly on the ſame ſpot where my forefathers ſaw the breaking of ſtorms.

WHAT motives theſe for idolizing one's country! Yet there is no longer any public ſpirit in Holland: it is a whole, the parts of which have no other relation among themſelves than the ſpot they occupy. Meanneſs, baſeneſs and diſhoneſty characterize now the conquerors of Philip. They make a traffic of their oath, as of their proviſions; and they will ſoon become the refuſe of the univerſe, which they had aſtoniſhed by their induſtry and by their virtues.

YE unworthy members of the government, under which ye live, ſhudder at leaſt at the dangers that ſurround you! Thoſe who have ſlaviſh ſouls are not far removed from ſlavery. The ſacred fire of liberty can only be kept up by chaſte hands. Ye are not now in that ſtate of anarchy, when the ſovereigns of Europe all equally oppoſed by the nobles in their reſpective ſtates, could not carry on their deſigns either with ſecrecy, unanimity or rapidity; when the equilibrium of the ſeveral powers was merely the effect of their mutual debility. At preſent, power grown more independent, confirms thoſe advantages to a monarchy which a free ſtate can never enjoy. What have the republicans to oppoſe to a ſuperiority ſo formidable? Their virtues; but you have loſt them. The corruption of your manners, and of your magiſtrates, encourages every where the detractors of liberty; and, perhaps, your fatal example is the means of impoſing a heavier yoke on other nations. What anſwer would you wiſh us to make to thoſe men, who, either from the prejudice

BOOK II.

dice of education or the want of honesty, are perpetually telling us; this is the government which you extol so much in your writings; these are the happy consequences of that system of liberty you hold so dear. To those vices which you have laid to the charge of despotism, they have added another, which surpasses them all, the inability to stop the progress of evil. What answer can be given to so severe a satire on democracy?

Industrious Hollanders! ye who were formerly so renowned for your bravery, and are at present so distinguished by your wealth, tremble at the idea of being again reduced to crouch under the rod you have broken, and which still hangs over you. Would you learn how the spirit of commerce may be united and preserved with the spirit of liberty? View from your shores that island, and those people, whom nature presents to you as a model for your imitation. Keep your eyes constantly fixed upon England: if the alliance of that kingdom has been yonr support, its conduct will now serve you as an instructor, and its example as a guide.

End of the Second Book.

BOOK III.

Settlements, Trade, and Conqueſts of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies.

BOOK III.

Sketch of the ancient ſtate of the Engliſh commerce.

WE know nothing either of the period in which the Britiſh iſles were peopled, nor of the origin of their firſt inhabitants. All we can learn from the moſt authentic hiſtorical records is, that they were ſucceſſively viſited by the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, and the Gauls. The traders of theſe nations uſed to go there to exchange earthen veſſels, ſalt, all kinds of iron, and copper inſtruments, for ſkins, ſlaves, hounds, and bull-dogs, and eſpecially for tin. Their profits were juſt what they pleaſed in their dealings with ſavages equally ignorant of the value of what they ſold or bought.

A LOOSE ſpeculation would lead us to imagine, that iſlanders have been the firſt civilized people among mankind. Nothing puts a ſtop to the excurſions of people living on a continent: they may get their livelihood and avoid fighting at the ſame time. In iſlands, war, and the inconveniences of a too limited ſociety, ſhould ſooner make laws and treaties neceſſary. But whatever is the reaſon of it, we generally ſee the manners and the government of iſlanders formed later and more imperfectly than others. All the traditions reſpecting Britain, particularly confirm this aſſertion.

THE Roman empire was not ſufficiently durable, and too eagerly diſputed, to improve in any conſidera-

ble

BOOK III.

ble degree the induſtry of the Britons. Even the ſmall progreſs that huſbandry and the arts had made during this period, was loſt as ſoon as that haughty power had determined to abandon this conqueſt. The ſpirit of ſlavery which the ſouthern inhabitants of Britain had contracted, deprived them of the courage neceſſary to reſiſt at firſt the overflowings of their neighbours the Picts, who had ſaved themſelves from the yoke by flying towards the north of the iſland, and prevented them afterwards from being able to oppoſe the more deſtructive, more obſtinate and more numerous expeditions of plunderers that poured in ſwarms from the more northern parts of Europe.

All nations were affected with this dreadful plague, the moſt deſtructive, perhaps, that ever was recorded in the annals of the world; but the calamities which Great Britain particularly experienced are inexpreſſible. Every year, ſeveral times even in a year, her countries were ravaged, her houſes burnt, her women raviſhed, her temples ſtripped, her inhabitants maſſacred, put to torture, or enſlaved. All theſe misfortunes ſucceeded each other with inconceivable rapidity. When the country was ſo far deſtroyed that nothing remained, to glut the avidity of theſe barbarians, they ſeized on the land itſelf. One nation ſucceeded another. One troop ſupervening, expelled or exterminated the one that was already eſtabliſhed; and this ſucceſſion of revolutions, conſtantly kept up indolence, miſtruſt and miſery. In theſe diſpiriting times, the Britons had ſcarce any commercial connection with the continent. Exchanges were even ſo rare amongſt them, that it was neceſſary to have witneſſes for the ſale of the leaſt trifle.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when William the Conqueror ſubdued Great Britain a little while after the middle of the eleventh century. His followers came from

from countries rather more civilized, more active, and more induſtrious, than thoſe they came to ſettle in. Such a communication ought naturally to have rectified, and enlarged the ideas of the conquered people. The introduction of the feudal government occaſioned ſo ſpeedy and ſo complete a revolution in matters of property, that every thing was thrown into confuſion.

THE minds of men were ſcarcely ſettled, and the conquerors, and the conquered had but juſt begun to conſider themſelves as one and the ſame people, when the abilities and ſtrength of the nation were engaged in ſupporting the pretenſions of their ſovereigns to the crown of France. In theſe obſtinate wars, the Engliſh diſplayed military talents and courage; but after ſeveral great efforts, and conſiderable ſucceſs, they were forced back into their iſland, where domeſtic troubles expoſed them to freſh calamities.

DURING theſe different periods, the whole commerce was in the hands of the Jews and the bankers of Lombardy, who were alternately favoured and robbed, conſidered as uſeful perſons, and condemned to death, expelled and recalled: theſe tumults were increaſed by the audacity of the pirates, who being ſometimes protected by the government, with which they ſhared their ſpoils, attacked all ſhips indiſcriminately, and frequently ſank their crews. Their intereſt of money was at fifty per cent. Leather, furs, butter, lead, and tin were the only things exported from England, at a very moderate rate, and thirty thouſand ſacks of wool, which returned annually a more conſiderable ſum. As the Engliſh were then totally unacquainted with the art of dying this wool, and manufacturing them with elegance, the greateſt part of this money returned. To remedy this inconvenience, foreign manufactures were invited, and the people were prohibited from wearing any

BOOK III.

any cloaths that were not of home manufacture. At the ſame time, the exportation of manufactured wool, and wrought iron was forbidden; two laws altogether worthy of the age in which they were inſtituted.

HENRY the ſeventh permitted the barons to diſpoſe of their lands, and the common people to buy them. This regulation diminiſhed the inequality which ſubſiſted before between the fortunes of the lords and their vaſſals; it made the latter more independent, and inſpired the people with the deſire of enriching themſelves, and the expectation of enjoying their riches. There were many obſtacles to this wiſh, and this hope; ſome of which were removed. The company of merchants eſtabliſhed at London was prevented from exacting in future the ſum of one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-five livres (68*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.*½) from each of the other merchants in the kingdom, deſirous of trading at the great fairs of the low countries. In order to fix a greater number of people to the labours of huſbandry, it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould put his ſon or daughter out to any kind of apprenticeſhip, without being poſſeſſed of a rent of twenty-two livres ten ſols (near 20*s.*) in landed property; this abſurd law was afterwards mitigated.

UNFORTUNATELY that law which regulated the price of all ſorts of proviſions, of woollen, of workmen's wages, of ſtuffs, and of cloathing, was maintained in its full force. Other impediments even were thrown in the way of commerce, on account of ſome pernicious combinations that were ſet on foot. The loan of money at intereſt, and the profits of exchange were ſtrictly prohibited, as uſurious in themſelves, or calculated to introduce uſury. The exportation of money in any kind of form was forbidden; and, in order to prevent foreign merchants from carrying it clandeſtinely away, they were compelled to change into Engliſh merchandize the

intire

intire produce of the goods they had brought into England. The exportation of horſes was likewiſe prohibited; and the people were not ſufficiently enlightened to diſcover that ſuch a prohibition would neceſſarily cauſe the propagation and improvement of the ſpecies to be neglected. At length corporations were eſtabliſhed in all the towns; that is to ſay, the ſtate authorized all perſons of the ſame profeſſion, to make ſuch regulations as they ſhould think neceſſary for their excluſive preſervation and ſucceſs. The nation is ſtill oppreſſed with a regulation ſo contrary to general induſtry, and which reduces every thing to a kind of monopoly.

Upon conſidering ſuch a number of ſtrange laws, we might be induced to think that Henry was either indifferent about the proſperity of his kingdom, or that he was totally deficient in underſtanding. Nevertheleſs, it is certain that this prince, maugre his extreme avarice, often lent conſiderable ſums of money, without intereſt, to merchants who had not property ſufficient to carry on the ſchemes they had planned: beſides, the wiſdom of his government is ſo well confirmed, that he is accounted with reaſon, one of the greateſt monarchs that ever filled the throne of England. But, notwithſtanding all the efforts of genius, it requires a ſucceſſion of ſeveral ages before any ſcience can be reduced to ſimple principles. It is the ſame thing with theories as with machines, which are always very complicated at firſt, and which are only freed in the courſe of time by obſervation and experience, from thoſe uſeleſs wheels which only ſerved to increaſe their frictions.

The knowledge of the ſucceeding reigns was not much more extenſive upon thoſe matters we are treating of. Some Flemings, ſettled in England, were the only good workmen in theſe branches; they were al-

BOOK III.

most always insulted and oppressed by the English workmen, who were jealous without emulation: they complained that all the customers went to the Flemings, and they raised the price of corn. The government adopted these popular prejudices, and forbad all strangers to employ more than two workmen in their shops. The merchants were not better treated than the workmen, and those even who were naturalized, were obliged to pay the same duties as the aliens. Ignorance was so general, that the cultivation of the best lands was neglected, in order to convert them into pasture lands, even at the time that the number of sheep, which might be in one flock, was confined by the laws to two thousand. All mercantile correspondences were confined in the low countries. The inhabitants of these provinces bought the English merchandize, and circulated them through the different parts of Europe. It is probable that the nation would not have made any considerable figure for a long time, without a concurrence of favourable circumstances.

The Duke of Alva's cruelties drove several able manufacturers into England, who carried the art of the fine Flemish manufactures to London. The persecutions which the protestants suffered in France supplied England with workmen of all kinds. Elizabeth, impatient of contradiction, but knowing and desirous of doing what was right, at once despotic and popular, with the advantages of a good understanding, and of being properly obeyed, availed herself of the fermentation of people's minds, as prevalent throughout all her dominions as through the rest of Europe; and while this fermentation produced amongst other people nothing but theological disputes, and civil or foreign wars, in England it gave rise to a lively emulation for commerce, and for the improvement of navigation.

The

THE Engliſh learned to build their ſhips at home, which they bought before of the merchants of Lubec and Hamburg. They were ſoon the only perſons who traded to Muſcovy by the way of Archangel juſt diſcovered; and they preſently came in competition with the Aſiatic towns in Germany, and in the north. They began to trade with Turkey. Several of their navigators attempted, though in vain, to diſcover a paſſage to India by the northern ſeas. At length Drake, Stephens, Cavendiſh, and ſome others, reached that place, ſome by the ſouth ſea, and others by doubling the Cape of Good Hope.

First voyages of the Engliſh to India.

THE ſucceſs of theſe voyages was ſufficient to determine the moſt able merchants of London to eſtabliſh a company in the year 1600; which obtained an excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt Indies. The act which granted this privilege, fixed it for fifteen years: it declared, that if it ſhould prove injurious to the ſtate, it ſhould be annulled, and the company ſuppreſſed, by giving two years previous notice to its members.

THIS clauſe of reſerve was owing to the diſpleaſure the commons had lately ſhewn on account of a grant, the novelty of which might poſſibly offend them. The queen had returned to the houſe, and had ſpoken on this occaſion in a manner worthy to ſerve as a leſſon to all ſovereigns.

"GENTLEMEN," ſaid ſhe to the members of the houſe commiſſioned to return her thanks, "I am extremely ſenſible of your attachment, and of the care "you have taken to give me an authentic teſtimony of "it. This affection for my perſon had determined "you to apprize me of a fault I had inadvertently "fallen into from ignorance, but in which my will had "no ſhare. If your vigilance had not diſcovered to

BOOK III.

"me the miſchiefs which my miſtake might have pro-
"duced, what pain ſhould I not have felt?—I, who
"have nothing dearer to me than the affection and
"preſervation of my people? May my hand ſuddenly
"wither, may my heart be ſtruck at once with a dead-
"ly blow, before I ſhall ever grant particular privi-
"leges that my ſubjects may have reaſon to complain
"of. The ſplendour of the throne has not ſo far daz-
"zled my eyes, that I ſhould prefer the abuſe of an
"unbounded authority to the uſe of a power exerciſed
"by juſtice. The brilliancy of royalty blinds only
"thoſe princes who are ignorant of the duties that the
"crown impoſes. I dare believe that I ſhall not be
"ranked among ſuch monarchs. I know that I hold
"not the ſceptre for my own proper advantage, and
"that I am entirely devoted to ſociety, which has put
"its confidence in me. It is my happineſs to ſee that
"the ſtate has hitherto proſpered under my govern-
"ment; and that my ſubjects are worthy that I ſhould
"yield up my crown and my life for their ſakes. Im-
"pute not to me the improper meaſures I may be
"engaged in, nor the irregularities which may be
"committed under the ſanction of my name. You
"know that the miniſters of princes are too often
"guided by private intereſts, that truth ſeldom reaches
"the ears of kings, and that obliged as they are, from
"the multiplicity of affairs they are laden with, to fix
"their attention on thoſe which are of the greateſt
"importance, it is impoſſible they ſhould ſee every
"thing with their own eyes."

THE funds of this company were, at firſt far from being conſiderable. Part of them was expended in fitting out a fleet of four ſhips which ſailed in the beginning of the year 1601; and the reſt was ſent abroad in money and merchandiſe.

LAN-

LANCASTER, who commanded the expedition, arrived the year following at the port of Achen, which was at that time a celebrated mart. Intelligence was received of the victories gained by the Engliſh over the Spaniards at ſea; and this intelligence procured him a very diſtinguiſhed reception. The king behaved to him in the ſame manner as if he had been his equal; he ordered that his own wives richly habited, ſhould play ſeveral dances in his preſence, on a variety of inſtruments. This favour was followed by all the compliances that could be wiſhed for to facilitate the eſtabliſhment of a ſafe and advantageous commerce. The Engliſh admiral was received at Bantam in the ſame manner as at the place where he firſt landed; and a ſhip which he had diſpatched to the Molucca iſlands, brought him a conſiderable cargo of cloves and nutmegs. With theſe valuable ſpices, and the pepper he took in at Java and Sumatra, he returned ſafe to Europe.

THIS early ſucceſs determined the ſociety who had intruſted their intereſts in the hands of this able man, to form ſettlements in India; but not without the conſent of the natives. They did not wiſh to begin with conqueſts. Their expeditions were nothing more than the enterprizes of humane and fair traders. They made themſelves beloved: but they gained nothing by this good impreſſion, except a few factories, and were in no condition to ſuſtain the attempts of their rivals who were very formidable.

THE Portugueſe and Dutch were in poſſeſſion of large provinces, well fortified places, and good harbours. By theſe advantages their trade was ſecured againſt the natives of the country, and againſt new competitors; their return to Europe was rendered eaſy; and they had opportunities of getting a good ſale

BOOK III.

for the commodities they carried to Aſia, and to purchaſe thoſe they wanted at a moderate price. The Engliſh, on the contrary, expoſed to the caprice of ſeaſons and of people, having no ſtrength, or place of ſecurity, and deriving their ſupplies from England only, could not carry on an advantageous trade. They found how difficult it was to acquire great riches without great injuſtice, and that if they would ſurpaſs or even equal the nations they had cenſured, they muſt purſue the ſame conduct.

The plan of forming laſting ſettlements, and of attempting conqueſts ſeemed too great to be accompliſhed by the forces of an infant ſociety: but they flattered themſelves that they ſhould meet with protection, becauſe they thought themſelves uſeful. They were diſappointed in their expectations. They could obtain nothing from James I. a weak prince, infected with the falſe philoſophy of his age, of a ſubtile and pedantic genius, and better qualified to be the head of an univerſity than to preſide over an empire. By their activity, perſeverance, and judicious choice of officers and factors, the company provided thoſe ſuccours which were refuſed them by their ſovereign. They erected forts, and founded colonies in the iſlands of Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda. They likewiſe ſhared the ſpice trade with the Dutch, which will always be the moſt certain branch of eaſtern commerce, becauſe the objects of it are become neceſſary articles of life. It was of more importance at the time we are ſpeaking of, becauſe the extravagance of fancy had not then made ſo much progreſs in Europe as it has done ſince, and becauſe there was not that prodigious demand for India linens, ſtuffs, teas, and Chineſe varniſh, that there is at preſent.

The

THE Dutch, who had driven the Portugueſe from the ſpice-iſlands, never intended to ſuffer a nation to ſettle there, whoſe maritime force, character, and government, would make them formidable rivals. They had many advantages on their ſide, ſuch as powerful colonies; a well exerciſed navy, firm alliances, a great fund of wealth, a knowledge of the country, and of the principles and details of commerce, which the Engliſh wanting, were attacked in all poſſible ways.

Diſputes between the Engliſh and Dutch.

THE firſt ſtep their rival took was to drive them from the fertile places where they had formed ſettlements. In the iſlands where their power was leſs eſtabliſhed, they endeavoured, by accuſations, equally void of truth and decency, to make them odious to the natives of the country. Theſe ſhameful expedients not meeting with all the ſucceſs the Dutch expected, thoſe avaricious traders reſolved to proceed to acts of violence. An extraordinary occaſion brought on the commencement of hoſtilities ſooner than was expected.

IT is a cuſtom at Java for the new married women to diſpute with their huſbands the firſt favours of love. This kind of conteſt which the men take a pride in terminating immediately, and the women in protracting as long as poſſible, ſometimes laſts ſeveral weeks. The king of Bantam having overcome the reſiſtance of a new bride made public entertainments in celebration of his triumph. The ſtrangers in the harbour were invited to theſe feſtivals. Unhappily for them the Engliſh were treated with too much diſtinction. The Dutch looked with a jealous eye upon this preference, and did not defer revenge a moment. They attacked them on all ſides.

THE Indian ocean became, at this period, the ſcene of the moſt bloody engagements between the maritime forces of the two nations. They ſought out,

BOOK III.

attacked, and combated each other with the ſpirit of men who choſe to conquer or die. Equal courage appeared on both ſides, but there was a diſparity in their forces. The Engliſh were on the point of being overcome, when ſome moderate people in Europe, which the flames of war had not reached, endeavoured to find out the means of accommodating their differences. By an infatuation, which it is not eaſy to explain the cauſe of, the very ſtrangeſt of all was adopted.

In 1619 the two companies ſigned a treaty, the purport of which was that the Molucca iſlands, Amboyna, and Banda, ſhould belong in common to the two nations: that the Engliſh ſhould have one third, and the Dutch two thirds of the produce at a fixed price: that each, in proportion to their intereſt, ſhould contribute to the defence of theſe iſlands: that a council compoſed of ſkilful men of both parties, ſhould regulate all the affairs of commerce at Batavia: That this agreement, guaranteed by the reſpective ſovereigns ſhould laſt twenty years; and that if any differences ſhould ariſe, during this interval, that could not be ſettled by the two companies, they ſhould be determined by the king of Great Britain and the States-general. Among all the political conventions preſerved in hiſtory, it would be difficult to find a more extraordinary one than this. It had the fate it deſerved.

The Dutch were no ſooner informed of it in India, than they deviſed means to render it ineffectual. The ſituation of affairs favoured their deſigns. The Spaniards and the Portugueſe had taken advantage of the diſputes between their enemies, to regain their ſettlements in the Moluccas. They might fortify themſelves there; and it was dangerous to give them time. The Engliſh commiſſaries concurred with them in opinion that it would be beſt to attack them without delay; but added,

ded, that they were not at all prepared to act in concert with them. This declaration, which was expected, was registered; and their associates embarked alone in an expedition, all the advantages of which they reserved to themselves. The agents of the Dutch company had only one step further to go, to get all the spices into the hands of their masters, which was to drive their rivals from the island of Amboyna. The method by which they succeeded in their project was very extraordinary.

A JAPANESE, in the Dutch service at Amboyna, made himself suspected by his imprudent curiosity. He was seized, and confessed that he had entered into an engagement with the soldiers of his nation to deliver up the fort to the English. His comrades confirmed his account, making the same confession. Upon these unanimous depositions, the authors of the conspiracy, who did not disavow, but even acknowledged it, were put in irons: and the plot was stifled in the death of the criminals by the hands of justice. This is the account given by the Dutch.

THE English have always considered this accusation as the suggestion of an unbounded avarice. They have maintained that it was absurd to suppose, that ten factors and eleven foreign soldiers could have formed the project of seizing upon a place, which was garrisoned by two hundred men: that even if these unhappy men had thought it possible to execute so extravagant a plan, would they not have been discouraged by the impossibility of obtaining succours to defend them against an enemy who would have besieged them on all sides? To make a conspiracy of this kind probable, it requires stronger proof than a confession extorted from the accused by extremity of torture. The torments of the rack never afforded any other proof, than that of the courage

BOOK III.

courage or weakneſs of thoſe whom barbarous cuſtoms condemned to it. Theſe conſiderations, ſtrengthened by ſeveral others, almoſt equally convincing, have made the ſtory of the conſpiracy of Amboyna ſo ſuſpected, that it has commonly paſſed for a cloak to palliate cruelty and avarice.

THE miniſtry of James I. and the whole nation were at that time ſo engaged in eccleſiaſtical ſubtilties, and the diſcuſſion of the rights of king and people, that they were not ſenſible of the inſults offered to the Engliſh name in the Eaſt. This indifference produced a caution which ſoon degenerated into weakneſs. Theſe iſlanders, however, maintained the bravery of their character better at Coromandel and Malabar.

Diſputes of the Engliſh with the Portugueſe

THEY had eſtabliſhed factories at Mazulipatam, Calicut, and ſeveral other ports, and even at Delhi. Surat, the richeſt mart in theſe countries, tempted their ambition in 1611. The inhabitants were diſpoſed to receive them: but the Portugueſe declared, that if they ſuffered this nation to make a ſettlement, they would burn all the towns upon the coaſt, and ſeize all the Indian veſſels. The government was awed by theſe menaces. Middleton, diſappointed in his hopes, was obliged to abandon the place, and return through a numerous fleet to which he did more damage than he received.

CAPTAIN Thomas Beſt arrived in theſe latitudes the year following, with a very conſiderable force. He was received at Surat without any oppoſition. The agents he carried out with him had ſcarce entered upon their employments when a formidable armament from Goa made its appearance. The Engliſh admiral, reduced to this alternative, either of betraying the intereſts he was intruſted with, or of expoſing himſelf to the greateſt danger in defending them, did not heſitate what part he ſhould act. He twice attacked the Portugueſe, and notwith-

notwithſtanding the great inferiority of his ſquadron, gained the victory each time. However, the advantage the vanquiſhed derived from their poſition, their ports, and their fortreſſes, always made the Engliſh navigation in the Guzarat very difficult. They were obliged to maintain a conſtant ſtruggle againſt an obſtinate enemy that was not diſcouraged by defeats. No tranquillity was to be obtained, but at the price of new conteſts and new triumphs.

The Engliſh form connections with Perſia.

THE news of theſe glorious ſucceſſes againſt a nation which had hitherto been thought invincible, reached as far as the capital of Perſia.

THIS vaſt country, ſo celebrated in antiquity, appeared to have been free at the firſt inſtitution of its government. The monarchy roſe upon the ruins of a depraved republic. The Perſians were long happy under this form of government: their manners were as ſimple as their laws. At length the ſpirit of conqueſt infuſed itſelf into the ſovereigns. At that time the treaſures of Aſſyria, the ſpoils of many trading nations, and the tribute ariſing from a vaſt number of provinces, brought immenſe riches into the empire, which ſoon occaſioned a total alteration. The diſorders roſe to ſuch a pitch, that the care of the public amuſements ſeemed to engage the chief attention of government.

A PEOPLE totally devoted to pleaſure could not fail in a ſhort time to be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery. They were ſucceſſively enſlaved by the Macedonians, the Parthians, the Arabians, and the Tartars, and towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century by the Sophis, who pretended to be the deſcendents of Aly, author of the famous reformation, by which Mohammedaniſm was divided into two branches.

No prince of this new race made himſelf ſo famous as Schah-Abbas, ſurnamed the Great. He conquered Candahar,

BOOK III.

Candahar, ſeveral places of importance upon the Black Sea, part of Arabia, and drove the Turks out of Georgia, Armenia, Meſopotamia, and all the countries they had conquered on this ſide the Euphrates.

THESE victories produced remarkable changes in the interior adminiſtration of the empire. The great men took advantage of the civil broils to make themſelves independent; they were degraded, and all poſts of conſequence were given to ſtrangers, who had neither the power nor inclination to raiſe factions. The militia having taken upon themſelves to diſpoſe of the crown at their pleaſure; they were reſtrained by foreign troops, whoſe religion and cuſtoms were different. Anarchy had inclined the people to ſedition; and to prevent this, the towns and villages were filled with colonies choſen out of nations whoſe manners and character bore no reſemblance to thoſe of the ancient inhabitants. Theſe arrangements gave riſe to a deſpotiſm the moſt abſolute, perhaps, that any country ever experienced.

IT is ſurprizing how the great Abbas found means to introduce into this government, which trampled on the natural rights of mankind, ſome deſigns for the public advantage. He patronized the arts, and eſtabliſhed them at court, and in the provinces. All who came into his dominions, if they poſſeſſed talents of any kind, were ſure of being well received, aſſiſted, and rewarded. He would often ſay, that ſtrangers were the beſt ornaments of an empire, and added more to a prince's dignity than the pomp of the moſt refined luxury.

WHILE Perſia was riſing from its ruins by the different branches of induſtry that were every where eſtabliſhed, a colony of Armenians, tranſplanted to Iſpahan, carried the ſpirit of commerce into the heart of the empire. In a little time, theſe traders, and the natives of the country who followed their example,

ſpread

ſpread themſelves over the Eaſt, into Holland, England, the Mediterranean and the Baltic, and wherever buſineſs was carried on with ſpirit and advantage. The Sophi himſelf bore a part in their enterprizes, and advanced them conſiderable ſums, which they employed to advantage in the moſt celebrated marts in the world. They were obliged to return the capital on the terms agreed upon, and if they had increaſed it by their induſtry, he granted them ſome recompenſe.

THE Portugueſe, who found that a part of the Indian trade with Aſia and Europe was likely to be diverted to Perſia, impoſed reſtraints upon it: they would not ſuffer the Perſians to purchaſe merchandize any where but from their magazines: they fixed the price of it; and if they ſometimes allowed it to be taken at the places where it was manufactured, it was always to be carried in their own bottoms, charging all expences of freight and exorbitant cuſtoms. This ſtretch of power diſpleaſed the great Abbas, who being informed of the reſentment of the Engliſh, propoſed to unite their maritime ſtrength with his land forces, to beſiege Ormus. This place was attacked by the combined arms of the two nations and taken in the year 1622, after a conteſt that laſted two months. The conquerors divided the ſpoil, which was immenſe, and afterwards totally demoliſhed the place.

THREE or four leagues from hence there was, upon the continent, an harbour called Gombron, or Bender Abaſſi. Nature ſeemed not to have deſigned it ſhould be inhabited. It is ſituated at the foot of a ridge of mountains of an exceſſive height; the air you breathe ſeems to be on fire; mortal vapours continually exhale from the bowels of the earth; the fields are black and dry, as if they had been ſcorched with fire. Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniencies, as Bender-Abaſſi had the advantage

BOOK III.

advantage of being placed at the entrance of the Gulf, the Perſian monarch choſe to make it the centre of the extenſive trade he intended to carry on with India. The Engliſh joined in this project. A perpetual exemption from all impoſts, and a moiety of the product of the cuſtoms, were granted them, on condition they ſhould maintain, at leaſt, two men of war in the Gulf. This precaution was thought neceſſary to fruſtrate the attempts of the Portugueſe, whoſe reſentment was ſtill to be dreaded.

FROM this time Bender-Abaſſi, which was before a poor fiſhing town, became a flouriſhing city. The Engliſh carried thither ſpices, pepper, and ſugar, from the markets of the eaſt; and iron, lead, and cloths, from the ports of Europe. The profits ariſing from theſe commodities were increaſed by the very high freight paid them by the Armenians, who were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the richeſt branch of the Indian commerce.

THESE merchants had, for a long time, been concerned in the linen trade. They had never been ſupplanted either by the Portugueſe, who were intent only on plunder, or by the Dutch, whoſe attention was totally confined to the ſpice trade. They might, nevertheleſs, be apprehenſive, that they ſhould not be able to withſtand the competition of a people who were equally rich, induſtrious, active, and frugal. The Armenians acted then as they have ever done ſince: they went to India, where they bought cotton, which they ſent to the ſpinners; the cloths were manufactured under their own inſpection, and carried to Gombron, from whence they were tranſported to Iſpahan. From thence they found their way into the different provinces of the empire, the dominions of the Grand Signior, and into Europe, where the cuſtom has prevailed of calling them Perſian manufactures, though they were never made but on the coaſt of

of Coromandel. Such is the influence of names upon opinions, that the vulgar error, which attributes to Perſia the manufacture of the Indies, will, in a ſeries of ages, perhaps, paſs with the learned in future times for an inconteſtable truth. The inſurmountable difficulties which errors of this kind have occaſioned in the hiſtory of Pliny, and other ancient writers, ſhould induce us to ſet a high value on the labours of the literati of this age, who collect the works of nature and of art with a view of tranſmitting them to poſterity.

In exchange for the merchandiſe they carried to Perſia, they gave the following articles which were either the produce of their own ſoil, or the fruits of their induſtry. Silk, which was the principal commodity; and was prepared and exported in great quantities. Caramanian wool, which nearly reſembles that of the Vicuna. It was of great uſe in the manufacture of hats, and of ſome ſtuffs. It is a remarkable circumſtance in the goats that produce it, that in the month of May the fleece falls off of itſelf. The turquoiſes, which are more or leſs valuable, according as they are procured from one or other of the three mines that produce them. They were formerly an article of the dreſs of our ladies. Gold brocades, which ſold at a higher price than any of thoſe which are the produce of the moſt celebrated manufactures. Some of them were made to be worn on one, and others on both ſides. They were uſed for window-curtains, ſkreens, and magnificent ſophas. Tapeſtry, which has ſince been ſo well imitated in Europe, and has, for a long time been the richeſt furniture of our rooms. Morocco, which, as other ſkins, is brought to a degree of perfection which cannot be equalled any where elſe. Shagreen, goats hair, roſe-water, medicinal roots, gums for colours, dates, horſes, arms, and many other articles, of which ſome are ſold in India, and others carried to Europe.

BOOK III.

THOUGH the Dutch managed to get all the trade of India into their hands, they viewed the tranſactions of Perſia with a jealous eye. They thought the privileges enjoyed by their rivals in the road of Bender-Abaſſi might be compenſated by the advantage they had in having a greater quantity of ſpices, and entered into a competition with them.

Decline of the Engliſh in India.

THE Engliſh, harraſſed in every mart by a powerful enemy, reſolutely bent on their deſtruction, were obliged every where to give way. Their fate was haſtened by thoſe civil and religious diſſenſions, which deluged their country with blood, and extinguiſhed all ſentiment and knowledge. India was totally forgotten, while the moſt important intereſts were at ſtake; and the company oppreſſed and diſcouraged, were reduced to nothing at the time that the death of Charles afforded ſo inſtructive and dreadful a leſſon.

CROMWELL, enraged at the favours the Dutch had ſhewn to the unfortunate family of the Stuarts, and at the aſylum they had afforded to the Engliſh who had been proſcribed; and piqued that the republic of the United Provinces ſhould pretend to the dominion of the ſea; proud of his ſucceſs, and ſenſible of his own ſtrength, and that of the nation under his command, reſolved at the ſame time to make it reſpected, and to revenge his own quarrel. He declared war againſt the Dutch.

OF all the maritime wars which have been recorded in hiſtory, none were conducted with more knowledge, or were more famous for the ſkill of the commanders, and the bravery of the ſailors; none preſented ſo great a number of obſtinate and bloody engagements. The Engliſh obtained the advantage, and owed it to the ſize of their ſhips, in which particular they have ſince been imitated by other European nations.

THE

THE protector, whose voice was a law, did not exert himself as far as he might in favour of India. He contented himself with providing for the security of the English trade, procuring a disavowal of the massacre at Amboyna, and insisting upon an indemnification for the descendants of the unhappy victims who perished in that dreadful transaction. No notice is taken in the treaty, of the forts taken from the nation by the Dutch, in the island of Java, and in several of the Moluccas. It was stipulated, indeed, that the island of Puleron should be restored: but the usurpers, seconded by the English negotiator whom they had corrupted, found means to elude this article so dextrously, which would and ought to have produced a rivalry in the spice trade, that the observance of it was never enforced.

Revival of the English trade in India.

NOTWITHSTANDING this neglect, as soon as the company had obtained from the protector a renewal of their privileges in 1657, and found themselves firmly supported by the public authority, they shewed a spirit of resolution which they had lost during their late misfortunes. Their courage kept pace with their rights.

THE success they met in Europe, accompanied them into Asia. Arabia, Persia, Indostan, the eastern parts of India, China, and all the markets where the English had formerly traded, were open to them. They were even received with more frankness and less distrust than they had experienced formerly. Their trade was very brisk, and their profits very considerable: nothing was wanting to complete their success but an entrance into Japan, which they attempted. But the Japanese having learned from the Dutch that the king of England had married a daughter of the king of Portugal, refused to admit the English into their ports.

NOTWITHSTANDING this disappointment, the company's affairs were in a very flourishing condition: they

BOOK III.

flattered themſelves with the pleaſing hopes of giving a greater extent and ſecurity to their affairs, when they found their career retarded by a rivalry, which their own ſucceſs created.

Misfortunes and miſconduct of the Engliſh in the Indies.

Some traders, fired with the relation of the advantages to be obtained in India, reſolved to make voyages thither. Charles II. who filled the throne with the voluptuous and diſſolute manners of a private character, gave them permiſſion for a valuable conſideration; while, on the other hand, he extorted large ſums from the company, to enable him to perſecute thoſe who encroached upon his privilege. A competition of this nature would unavoidably degenerate into piracy. The Engliſh thus becoming enemies to each other, carried on their diſputes with a ſpirit of rancour and animoſity, which lowered them in the opinion of the people of Aſia.

The Dutch wiſhed to take advantage of ſo ſingular a conjuncture. Theſe republicans had for a long time been abſolute maſters of the Indian trade. They had ſeen with regret a part of it taken out of their hands, at the concluſion of the civil wars in England. They hoped to recover it by the ſuperiority of their forces, when in 1664 the two nations entered into a war in all parts of the world; but the hoſtilities did not continue long enough to anſwer theſe ſanguine expectations. As the peace prevented them from having recourſe to open violence, they reſolved to attack the ſovereigns of the country to oblige them to ſhut up their ports againſt their rival. The fooliſh and deſpicable behaviour of the Engliſh increaſed the inſolence of the Dutch, who proceeded ſo far as to drive them ignominiouſly from Bantam in 1680.

So ſerious and public an inſult rouſed the ſpirit of the Engliſh company. The deſire of re-eſtabliſhing their

their character gratifying their revenge, and maintaining their intereſts animated them to make the greateſt efforts. They equipped a fleet of twenty-three ſhips, with eight thouſand regular troops on board. They were ready to ſail, when their departure was poſtponed by the king's orders. Charles, whoſe neceſſities and licentiouſneſs were unbounded, had entertained hopes of receiving an immenſe ſum to induce him to recall this armament. As he could not obtain it from his ſubjects, he was reſolved to receive it from his enemies. He ſacrificed the honour and trade of his nation for 2,250,000 livres (98,437*l.* 10*s.*) which were paid him by the Dutch, who were intimidated by theſe great preparations. The intended expedition never took place.

The company exhauſted by the expences of an armament, which had been rendered uſeleſs by the venality of the court, ſent their veſſels to India without the neceſſary funds to ſupply the cargoes; but with orders to the factors, if poſſible to take them upon credit. The fidelity they had hitherto obſerved in their engagements procured them 6,750,000 livres, (295,312*l.* 10*s.*) Nothing can be more extraordinary than the method that was taken to pay them back.

Josias Child, who from being a director, was become the tyrant of the company, is ſaid, unknown to his colleagues, to have ſent orders to India, to invent ſome pretence or other, to defraud the lenders of their money. The execution of this iniquitous project was entruſted to his brother John Child, who was governor of Bombay. This avaritious, turbulent, and ſavage man, immediately proceeded to make ſeveral claims upon the governor of Surat, ſome more fooliſh than others. Theſe demands meeting with the reception they deſerved, he attacked all the veſſels belonging to the ſub-

BOOK III.

jects of the crown of Delhi, and ſingled out in particular the ſhips from Surat, as being the richeſt. He paid no regard to veſſels that ſailed with its paſs-ports, and carried on his inſolence ſo far as to ſeize a fleet laden with proviſion for the great Mogul's army. This terrible pillage which laſted the whole year 1688, occaſioned incredible loſſes throughout all Indoſtan.

AURENGZEBE, who held the reins of the empire with a ſteady hand, did not loſe a moment in revenging ſo great an outrage. In the beginning of the year 1689, one of his lieutenants landed with twenty thouſand men at Bombay, an iſland of conſequence on the coaſt of Malabar, which a princeſs of Portugal had brought as her dowry to Charles II. and which that monarch had ceded to the company in 1668. On the enemy's approach, the fort of Magazan was abandoned with ſuch precipitation that money, proviſions, ſeveral cheſts of arms, and fourteen pieces of heavy cannon were left behind. The Indian general, encouraged by this firſt advantage, attacked the Engliſh in the field, routed them, and obliged them to retire into the principal fortreſs, which he inveſted, and hoped ſoon to make it ſurrender.

CHILD, who was as daſtardly in time of danger as he had been daring in his piracies, immediately diſpatched deputies to court, to ſue for pardon. After many intreaties, and much mean ſubmiſſion, the Engliſh were admitted into the emperor's preſence with their hands tied, and their faces towards the ground. Aurengzebe, who was deſirous of preſerving a connection which he thought would be uſeful to his ſubjects, was not inflexible. Having delivered himſelf in the ſtile of an incenſed ſovereign, who could, and ought, perhaps, to revenge himſelf, he yielded to their intreaties and ſubmiſſion. The baniſhment of the author of the troubles

troubles, and an adequate compenſation for ſuch of his ſubjects as had been plundered, was all the juſtice exacted on this occaſion by the ſupreme will of the moſt deſpotic monarch that ever exiſted. On theſe moderate terms, the Engliſh were permitted ſtill to enjoy theſe privileges they had obtained at different times in the roads belonging to the Mogul. BOOK III.

THUS ended this unhappy affair, which for ſeveral years interrupted the trade of the company, occaſioned an expence of between nine and ten millions, (on an average about 416,000*l.*) the loſs of five large veſſels, and a great number of ſmall ones; coſt the lives of many thouſands excellent ſailors, and ended in the ruin of the credit and honour of the nation: two particulars, the value of which can never be eſtimated too highly.

BY changing their maxims and their conduct, the company might flatter themſelves with the proſpect of being extricated from the abyſs into which their own behaviour had plunged them. Theſe hopes were ſoon daſhed by a revolution which did not directly concern them. James II. a tyrannical and fanatic prince, but one who underſtood maritime affairs and commerce better than any one of his contemporaries, was depoſed. This event made all Europe take arms. The conſequences of theſe bloody quarrels are well known. Perhaps, it is not ſo well known that the French privateers took four thouſand two hundred Engliſh merchantmen, valued at ſix hundred ſeventy-five millions of livres, (29,531,250*l.*) and that the greateſt part of the veſſels returning from India were included in this fatal liſt.

THESE depredations were ſucceeded by a ſpirit of oeconomy, which muſt naturally haſten the ruin of the company. The French refugees had carried the culture of flax and hemp into Ireland and Scotland. For the encouragement of this branch of induſtry, it was

BOOK III.

thought proper to prohibit the wear of Indians linens, except muſlins, and thoſe which were neceſſary for the African trade. How could a body already exhauſted ſuſtain ſo unforeſeen, ſo heavy a ſtroke?

The peace which ſhould have put an end to theſe misfortunes, filled up the meaſure of them. Three kingdoms with one voice exclaimed againſt the company. It was not their decline that raiſed them enemies: it only encouraged thoſe they had already. They met with oppoſition at their firſt eſtabliſhment. Ever ſince the year 1615, ſeveral politicians had declaimed againſt the trade to the Eaſt Indies. They aſſerted, that it weakened the naval ſtrength by deſtroying great numbers of men; and leſſened the Levant and Ruſſian commerce, without affording an equivalent advantage. Theſe clamours, though contradicted by judicious people, grew ſo violent towards the year 1628, that the company ſeeing themſelves expoſed to the odium of the nation, applied to government. They petitioned that the nature of their commerce might be examined: that it might be prohibited, if it was contrary to the intereſt of the ſtate; and if favourable to them, that it might be authorized by a public declaration. The oppoſition of the nation, which had been ſome time dormant, was renewed with more fury than ever, at the period we are ſpeaking of. Thoſe who were leſs ſevere in their ſpeculations, conſented to a trade with India; but maintained that it ſhould be laid open to the whole nation. An excluſive charter was, in their opinion, a manifeſt encroachment upon liberty. Accordingly to them, government was eſtabliſhed by the people with a view of advancing the general good; and it would be a crime againſt it to ſacrifice public to private intereſts, by tolerating odious monopolies. They ſupported this uſeful and inconteſtable principle, by appealing to a recent

recent inſtance. They urged, that during the rebellion, the private merchants who had got poſſeſſion of the Aſiatic ſeas, carried double the quantity of national goods there was formerly a demand for, and were in a condition to ſell commodities on their return at ſo low a price as to ſupplant the Dutch in all the European markets. But theſe acute republicans, who were certain of their ruin, if the Engliſh ſhould continue any longer to conduct their affairs on the maxims of univerſal liberty, bribed certain perſons to prevail with Cromwell, to form a ſeparate company. Theſe ſecret practices were countenanced by the Engliſh merchants concerned in that trade, who hoped for greater advantages in future; when being the only venders, they might impoſe what terms they pleaſed upon the conſumers. The Protector, deceived by the artful inſinuations of both parties, renewed the charter, but for ſeven years only, that he might alter his conduct, if he found reaſon to think he had taken a wrong ſtep.

THIS ſtep was not thought a wrong one by any body. Several people were of opinion, that the trade to India could not be carried on with advantage, without an excluſive privilege: but many of them maintained that the preſent charter was inſufficient; having been granted by kings who had no right to do it. They recited many acts of this kind which were abrogated by parliament in the reigns of Edward III. Henry IV. James I. and other princes. Charles II. indeed, obtained a verdict of this nature in the court of common pleas, but it was founded upon a frivolous pretence. This tribunal had the confidence to declare, *That the prince had authority to prevent his ſubjects from holding commerce with infidels, leſt the purity of their faith ſhould be contaminated.*

BOOK III.

THOUGH the parties above-mentioned were actuated by private, and even oppoſite views, they all united in the plan of making the trade free, or at leaſt of procuring the reverſal of the company's charter. The nation, in general, were on their ſide: but the body that was attacked, defended itſelf by its partiſans, the miniſtry, and all the dependents of the court, who made this a common cauſe. Each party had recourſe to libels, intrigue and corruption. Theſe contending paſſions produced one of thoſe ſtorms, the violence of which can hardly be felt any where but in England. The ſeveral factions, ſects and intereſts maintained a furious combat; in which they all mingled without diſtinction of rank, age, or ſex. Such a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm had never been raiſed by the greateſt events. To keep up the zeal of their friends, the company offered to lend large ſums on condition of obtaining their charter. Their adverſaries made offers ſtill more conſiderable to get it revoked.

THE two houſes of parliament, before whom this cauſe was heard, declared in favour of the private merchants. They obtained leave to carry on trade to India, either ſeparately or in concert. They entered into an aſſociation, and formed a new company. The old one had permiſſion to continue its armaments till the expiration of their charter, which was very near at hand. Thus England had two Eaſt India companies at the ſame time, authoriſed by parliament inſtead of one eſtabliſhed by royal authority.

THESE two bodies ſhewed as much zeal for the deſtruction of each other, as they had ſhown for their reſpective eſtabliſhment. They had both experienced the advantages of trade; and viewed each other with all the jealouſy and hatred, which ambition and avarice never fail to inſpire. Their diſſenſions ſoon broke out with

with conſiderable violence in Europe, as well as in India. At laſt, the two ſocieties made advances towards a reconciliation, and united their funds in 1702. From this period the affairs of the company were carried on with greater propriety, prudence and dignity. The principles of commerce, which were every day better underſtood in England, had a good effect on their adminiſtration, as far as the intereſts of their monopoly could allow. They made improvements in their former regulations, and formed new ones. They endeavoured to indemnify themſelves for the profits they were deprived of by a ſtrong competition, by procuring a larger ſale for their commodities. Their privileges were leſs violently attacked, ſince they had received the ſanction of the laws, and obtained the protection of parliament.

THEIR proſperity was overcaſt by ſome tranſient misfortunes. In 1702 the Engliſh had formed a ſettlement in the iſland of Pulocondor, which was dependant on Cochin-China. Their deſign was to take a ſhare in the commerce of this rich kingdom, which had till then been too much neglected. An inſtance of exceſſive ſeverity had given diſguſt to ſixteen ſoldiers of Macaſſar, who were part of the garriſon. On the 3d. of March 1705 they ſet fire in the night to the houſes belonging to the fort, and maſſacred the Europeans as they came to extinguiſh it. Thirty out of forty-five loſt their lives in this manner; the reſt were knocked on the head by the natives, who were exaſperated at the inſolence of theſe ſtrangers. By this accident the company loſt the money their enterprize had coſt them, together with the ſtock of their factories and the proſpects they had entertained.

THE misfortunes they met with at Sumatra in the year 1719 were not attended with the ſame fatal conſequences.

BOOK III.

queneces. This large iſland had been frequented by the Engliſh ever ſince their arrival in India, but they did not ſettle there till the year 1688. They drove the Dutch from Bencoolen, a conſiderable town on the weſtern coaſt, built near a large and commodious bay: and took poſſeſſion of it in their room. The conquerors found the iſlanders inclined to treat with them; and theſe diſpoſitions were at firſt improved with prudence. This circumſpect behaviour did not laſt long. The company's agents ſoon abandoned themſelves to that ſpirit of rapine and tyranny, which the Europeans uſually carry with them into Aſia. Clouds of diſcontent between them and the natives of the country began to gather by degrees. Diſtruſt and animoſity had riſen to the higheſt pitch, when the foundations of a rising fort were diſcovered at the diſtance of a few miles from the coaſt. On ſeeing this, the inhabitants of Bencoolen took up arms, and were joined by the whole country. All the buildings belonging to the company were inſtantly reduced to aſhes, the Engliſh were routed, and obliged to embark with all the effects they could carry off. Their exile was not of long continuance. The fear of falling under the dominion of the mercileſs Dutch who had a ſtrong force upon their frontier, procured their recall. In recompence of this diſaſter, they obtained the advantage of finiſhing the fort Marlborough without oppoſition, which they ſtill retain.

THESE diſturbances were no ſooner appeaſed, than new ones aroſe in Malabar and other countries. As the ſource of them all lay in the avarice and turbulent diſpoſition of the company's ſervants, they put an end to them by giving up the unjuſtifiable pretenſions that had occaſioned them. Other objects of the moſt intereſting nature ſoon claimed their attention.

ENGLAND

War between the Engliſh and French.

ENGLAND and France entered into a war in 1744. The whole world became the ſcene of their operations. In India, as well as in other places, each nation ſuſtained its character. The Engliſh, ever animated with the ſpirit of commerce, attacked and ruined that of their enemies. The French adhering to their paſſion for conqueſt, ſeized upon the principal ſettlements belonging to their rival. The event ſhewed which of the two nations had acted with the greateſt prudence. That which attended to nothing but its own aggrandizement, ſunk into a total inactivity; while the other, deprived of the center of its power, carried its enterprizes to a greater extent.

A CESSATION of hoſtilities between the two divided nations had no ſooner taken place, than they engaged themſelves as auxiliaries, into the quarrels of the Indian princes. Soon after they again took arms on their own account. Before the end of this war, the French were driven out of the continent and ſeas of Aſia. At the concluſion of the peace 1763, the Engliſh company found themſelves in poſſeſſion of the empire, in Arabia, in the Perſian Gulph, on the coaſt of Malabar and Coromandel, and at Bengal.

IN all theſe countries there is a difference in climate, manners, ſoil, productions, the ſpirit of induſtry, and the price of merchandiſe. Theſe particulars ought to be exactly and thoroughly underſtood. We will give a ſhort ſketch of them. This deſcription will be found to have a particular connection with the hiſtory of a nation, which has obtained a remarkable influence, and derives from it the greateſt advantages.

General trade of the Red Sea, and of the Engliſh trade there in particular.

ARABIA is one of the largeſt peninſulas in the known world. It is bounded by Syria, Diarbeck and Irac-Arabi on the north, by the Indian Ocean on the ſouth, by the Gulph of Perſia on the eaſt, and on the weſt by

BOOK III.

by the Red Sea, which ſeparates it from Africa. It is commonly divided into three parts; Arabia Petræa, Arabia Deſerta, and Arabia Felix, which names denote the nature of the ſoil in each of theſe countries.

ARABIA Petræa is the moſt weſtern and the ſmalleſt of the three. It is for the moſt part uncultivated, and almoſt totally covered with rocks. In Arabia Deſerta nothing is to be ſeen but arid plains, heaps of ſand raiſed and diſſipated by the wind, and ſteep mountains never adorned with a pleaſing verdure. Springs are ſo rarely found there, that the poſſeſſion of them is always diſputed ſword in hand. Arabia Felix owes its ſpecious appellation leſs to its fertility than to its vicinity to the barren countries that ſurround it. Theſe different regions, though expoſed to great heats, enjoy a ſky conſtantly pure and ſerene.

ALL hiſtories agree that this country was peopled at a very early period. It is thought that its firſt inhabitants came from Syria and Chaldea. We cannot find at what period their form of government began; whether their knowledge was derived from India, or whether it was acquired. It appears that their religion was Sabeiſm even before they were acquainted with the people of Upper Aſia. They had early ſublime ideas of the divinity: they worſhipped the ſtars as bodies animated by celeſtial ſpirits: their religion was neither cruel nor abſurd; and though they were liable to thoſe fallies of enthuſiaſm ſo common among the ſouthern nations, they do not ſeem to have been tainted with fanaticiſm till the time of Mohammed. The inhabitants of Arabia Deſerta profeſſed a worſhip not quite ſo rational. Many of them worſhipped, and ſome offered human ſacrifices to the ſun. It is a truth that may be collected from the ſtudy of hiſtory and the inſpection of the globe, that the religions in barren countries,

countries, ſubject to inundations and volcanos, have ever had a tincture of cruelty, and have always been of a milder caſt in countries where nature has been more indulgent. They take their character from the climate where they are formed. BOOK III.

When Mohammed had eſtabliſhed a new religion in his country, it was no difficult taſk to infuſe a ſpirit of zeal into his followers; and this zeal made them conquerors. They extended their dominion from the weſtern ſeas to thoſe of China, and from the Canaries to the Molucca iſlands. They carried uſeful arts along with them, which they improved to perfection. The Arabians did not equally ſucceed in the fine arts; they ſhewed, indeed, ſome genius for them, but had not the leaſt idea of that taſte with which nature ſome time after inſpired the people who have become their diſciples.

Perhaps genius, which is the offspring of a creative imagination, flouriſhes in hot countries, where a variety of productions, grand ſcenes, and ſurprizing events, excite enthuſiaſm; while taſte, which ſelects with choice the produce of the fields that genius has ſown, ſeems rather to belong to people of a ſteady, mild, and moderate temper, who live under the influence of an indulgent ſky. Perhaps too this ſame taſte, which is the effect of reaſon refined and matured by time, requires a certain ſtability in the government, united with a certain freedom of thinking, an inſenſible progreſs of ſcience, which affording a greater ſcope to genius, enables it to diſcern more exactly the relation one object has to another, and to combine with happier art thoſe mixed ſenſations which give the higheſt entertainment to men of elegant minds. Accordingly the Arabians, who were almoſt conſtantly forced into regions glowing with war and fanaticiſm, never enjoyed that temperature of government and climate which gives

BOOK III.

gives birth to taſte. But they introduced into the countries they conquered ſciences which they had pillaged, as it were, in the courſe of their ravages, and all the arts eſſential to the proſperity of nations.

No nation, at that time, underſtood commerce ſo well, or carried it to a greater extent. They attended to it even in the courſe of their conqueſts. Their merchants, manufactures, and markets, reached from Spain to Tonquin; and other people, at leaſt thoſe in the weſtern part of the world, were indebted to them for arts and ſciences, and all articles conducive to the convenience, the preſervation, and the pleaſures of life.

When the power of the Caliphs began to decline, the Arabians, after the example of ſeveral nations they had ſubdued, threw off the yoke of theſe princes, and the country re-aſſumed by degrees its ancient form of government, as well as its primitive manners. At this æra, the nation being, as formerly, divided into tribes under the conduct of different chiefs, returned to their original character from which fanaticiſm and ambition had made them depart.

The ſtature of the Arabians is low, their bodies lean, and their voice ſlender; but they have robuſt conſtitutions, brown hair, a ſwarthy complexion, black ſparkling eyes, an ingenious countenance, but ſeldom agreeable. This contraſted mixture of features and qualities, which ſeem incompatible, ſeem to have been united in this race of men, to conſtitute a ſingular nation, whoſe figure and character partake ſtrongly of that of the Turks, Africans, and Perſians, by whom they are ſurrounded. Grave and ſerious, they add dignity to their long beard, ſpeak little, uſe no geſture, make no pauſes or falter in their converſation. They pique themſelves on obſerving the ſtricteſt probity towards each other, which is the effect of that ſelf-love,

and

and that ſpirit of patriotiſm, which, united together, make any nation, clan or ſociety, eſteem, favour, and prefer themſelves to the reſt of the world. The more carefully they preſerve their phlegmatic character, ſo much the more formidable is their reſentment when once it is raiſed. Theſe people have abilities, and even a genius for the ſciences; but they cultivate them but little, either from want of aſſiſtance, or becauſe they have no occaſion for them; chuſing rather, no doubt, to ſuffer natural evils, than the inconvenience of labour. The Arabians, at this time of day, afford no monument of genius, no productions of induſtry, which intitle them to make a figure in the hiſtory of the human mind.

THEIR ruling paſſion is jealouſy; that torment of impetuous, weak, and indolent minds. It might naturally be aſked, whether this diſtruſt was owing to the high or low opinion they entertained of themſelves? It is ſaid to be from the Arabians that ſeveral nations of Aſia, Africa, and even Europe itſelf, have borrowed thoſe deſpicable precautions which this odious paſſion preſcribes againſt a ſex, which ought to be the guardian, not the ſlave of our pleaſures. As ſoon as a daughter is born, they unite by a kind of ſuture thoſe parts which nature has ſeparated, leaving juſt ſpace enough for the natural diſcharges. As the child grows, the parts by degrees adhere ſo cloſely, that when they become marriageable they are obliged to be ſeparated by an inciſion. Sometimes it is thought ſufficient to make uſe of a ring. The married women, as well as the unmarried, are ſubjected to this outrage on the virtue of the ſex; with this difference only, that the ring worn by the young women cannot be taken off, whereas that of the married women has a kind of padlock, of which the huſband keeps the key. This cuſtom, which

BOOK III.

is known in all parts of Arabia, is almoſt univerſally adopted in the part that bears the name of Petræa.

SUCH are the manners of the nation in general. The different manner of living in the people who compoſe it, muſt neceſſarily have introduced ſome peculiarities of character that are worth obſerving.

THE number of Arabians who inhabit the Deſert may amount to two millions. They are diſtributed into a great number of clans, ſome of which are more populous and conſiderable than others, but all independent of each other. Their government is ſimple: an hereditary chief, aſſiſted by a few old men, determines all debates, and puniſhes the offenders. If he is hoſpitable, humane, and juſt, they adore him; if haughty, cruel, and avaricious, they tear him in pieces, and appoint a ſucceſſor out of his own family.

THESE people form encampments in all ſeaſons of the year. They have no ſettled abode, and fix at different places where they can be ſupplied with water, fruits, and paſture. They find an infinite charm in this wandering life, and conſider the ſedentary Arabs in the light of ſlaves. They live upon the milk and fleſh of their herds. Their habits, tents, cordage, and the tapeſtry they ſleep upon, are all made of the wool of their ſheep, and the hair of their goats and camels. This is the employment of the women in each family; and there is not a ſingle artiſt in the whole deſert. What they conſume in tobacco, coffee, rice, and dates, is purchaſed with the butter they carry to the frontiers, and by the money ariſing from the annual ſale of twenty thouſand camels, at forty-eight livres (2*l.* 2*s.*) a head. Theſe animals, ſo uſeful in the eaſt, were formerly carried to Syria. The greateſt number are now ſent to Perſia, the perpetual wars there having occaſioned an extraordinary demand for them, and leſſened their numbers.

THESE

THESE articles not being ſufficient to ſupply the Arabs with what they wanted, they have contrived to raiſe a contribution on the caravans, which ſuperſtition obliges to traverſe their ſands. The moſt numerous of theſe, which goes from Damar to Mecca, procures a ſafe paſſage by the payment of a hundred purſes, or a hundred and fifty thouſand livres, (6,562*l.* 10*s.*) to which the Grand Seignior is ſubjected, and which, by ancient agreement, is diſtributed among all the clans. The other caravans make ſimilar terms with the clans, through whoſe territories they are obliged to paſs.

INDEPENDENTLY of this expedient, the Arabs inhabiting the moſt northern part of the deſert have had recourſe to plunder. Theſe people, ſo humane, faithful, and diſintereſted towards each other, are ſavage and rapacious in their tranſactions with foreigners. While they preſerve in their tents, the character of beneficent and generous hoſts, they commit continual depredations on the towns and villages in their neighbourhood. They are good fathers, good huſbands, and good maſters; but all are enemies who do not belong to their family. They frequently carry their incurſions to a great diſtance; and Syria, Meſopotamia, and Perſia, are not uncommonly the ſcenes of their depredations.

THE Arabs, who devote themſelves to plunder, form a ſort of ſociety with the camels, to carry on trade or war, where the man is to have all the profit, and the animal the principal fatigue. As theſe two beings are to live together, they are brought up with a view to each other. The Arab trains his camel from its birth, to all the exerciſes and hardſhips it is to undergo during the whole courſe of its life. He accuſtoms it to travel far, and eat little. The animal is ear-

BOOK III.

ly inured to pass its days without drinking, and its nights without sleep. He teaches him to draw up his legs under his belly, while he suffers himself to be laden with burthens, that are insensibly increased as his strength is increased by age and fatigue. In this singular plan of education, which princes sometimes adopted the more easily to tame their subjects, in proportion as the labour is doubled, the subsistence is diminished. The Arabians qualify the camels for expedition, by matches, in which the horse enters into a competi- with him. The latter, less active and nimble, tires out his rival in a long course. When the master and the camel are ready and equipped for plunder, they set out together, traverse the sandy deserts, and lie in ambush upon the confines to rob the merchant or traveller. The man ravages, massacres, and seizes the prey: and the camel carries the booty. If these adventurers are pursued, they make a precipitate retreat. The master robber mounts his favourite camel, drives the whole troop before him, travels three hundred leagues in eight days without unloading his camels, or allowing them more than an hour each day to rest, or a cake of dough for time their subsistence. They sometimes remain the whole without drinking, unless they happen to see a spring at a distance from the road, when they redouble their pace, run to the water with eagerness, which makes them take at one draught, as much as is sufficient to quench their present thirst and serve them to the end of their journey. Such is the animal so often celebrated in the Bible, the Coran, and the eastern romances.

The Arabs who live in districts that afford some slender pastures, and where the soil is proper for barley, breed the finest horses in the world. These horses are sent into all parts to improve and multiply the breed of these animals, which are every where inferior in swift-

ness,

neſs, beauty, and ſagacity, to thoſe of Arabia. The maſters live with them on the foot of domeſticks, on whoſe ſervice and affection they can rely: and it happens with them as with all other diſperſed people, thoſe, in particular, who treat animals with kindneſs, that both the men and the animals partake, in ſome meaſure of each other's manners and diſpoſition. Theſe Arabs are ſimple, mild and docile: and the different religions that have prevailed in theſe countries, and the ſeveral governments of which they have been the ſubjects or tributaries, have produced very little alteration in the character they derive from climate or from habit.

The Arabs ſettled near the Indian and the Red Sea, and thoſe who inhabit Arabia Felix, were formerly a mild people, fond of liberty, and content with a ſtate of independence without dreaming of conqueſt. They were too much prejudiced in favour of the beauty of their ſky and, of the ſoil that ſupplied their wants almoſt without culture to be tempted to extend their dominion over different countries lying in another climate. Mohammed changed their ideas: but they retain no traces of the impulſe he gave them. They paſs their lives in ſmoaking, taking coffee, opium and ſherbet. Theſe gratifications are preceded or followed by exquiſite perfumes that are burnt before them, the ſmoke of which they receive in their clothes, which are ſlightly ſprinkled with roſe-water.

Before the Portugueſe had interrupted the navigation of the Red Sea, the Arabs had more activity. They were the factors of all the trade that paſſed through the channel. Aden, which is ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of Arabia upon the Indian ocean, was the mart in theſe parts. The ſituation of its harbour which opened an eaſy communication with

BOOK III.

Egypt, Ethiopia, India and Perſia had rendered it, for many ages, one of the moſt flouriſhing factories in Aſia. Fifteen years after it had repulſed the great Albuquerque, who attempted to demoliſh it in 1513, it ſubmitted to the Turks who did not long remain maſters of it. The king of Yemen, who poſſeſſed the only diſtrict in Arabia that merits the title of happy, drove them from thence, and removed the trade to Mocha, a road in his dominions, which till then was only a village.

THIS trade was at firſt inconſiderable: conſiſting principally in myrrh, incenſe, aloes, balm of Mecca, ſome aromatics and medicinal drugs. Theſe articles, the exportation of which is continually retarded by exorbitant imports, and does not exceed at preſent 7000,000 livres, (30,625*l.*) was at that time more in repute than they have been ſince: but muſt have been always of little conſequence. Soon after a great change enſued from the introduction of coffee.

THE coffee-tree is originally a native of the higher Ethiopia where it has been known time immemorial, and is ſtill cultivated with ſucceſs. M. Lagrenée de Mezieres, one of the moſt intelligent agents that France ever had in the India ſervice, had ſome of the fruit in his poſſeſſion, and has made a tryal of it. He found it to be larger, rather longer, not ſo green, and almoſt as fragrant as that which was begun to be gathered in Arabia towards the of cloſe the fifteenth century.

IT is commonly believed that a Mollach, named Chadely was the firſt among the Arabs who made uſe of coffee, to relieve himſelf from a continual drowzineſs which hindered him from attending punctually to his nightly devotions. His Derviſes did the ſame: and their example was followed by the gentlemen of the law. It was ſoon found out, that this liquor purified the blood by a gentle agitation, diſſipated the crudities of the ſtomach,

mach, and raiſed the ſpirits: and it was adopted even by thoſe who had no occaſion to keep themſelves awake. It paſſed from the borders of the Red Sea to Medina, Mecca, and was introduced by the pilgrims into all the Mohammedan countries.

In theſe countries where there is leſs freedom of manner than ours, where the jealouſy of the men and the cloſe confinement of the women make ſociety leſs lively, it was thought proper to encourage public coffee-houſes. Thoſe in Perſia ſoon became infamous, where young Georgian women, dreſſed like courtezans, acted obſcene plays, and proſtituted themſelves for hire. When theſe offenſive irregularities were ſuppreſſed by order of the court, theſe houſes became places of genteel reſort for the indolent, and of relaxation for the buſy part of the world. The politicians entertained themſelves with news, the poets recited their verſes, and the Mollachs, delivered their ſermons, which were uſually rewarded with ſome charitable donations.

Affairs were not in the ſame peaceable ſtate at Conſtantinople. The coffee-houſes were no ſooner opened than they were frequented to exceſs. People ſpent their whole time in them. The grand Mufti, concerned to ſee the Moſques abandoned, pronounced that this infuſion was included in that law of Mohammed, which forbids the uſe of ſtrong liquors. The government, which frequently aids the ſuperſtition of which it is ſometimes the dupe, gave immediate orders that the houſes which had given ſuch offence to the prieſts ſhould be ſhut up; and enjoined the officers of the police to put a ſtop to the uſe of this liquor in private families. An inclination ſo ſtrong ſtill prevailed in ſpite of all theſe ſevere regulations. Coffee continued to be drunk, and the places where it was to be had, ſoon grew more numerous than ever.

BOOK III.

In the middle of the laſt age, Kuproli, the Grand Vizir, went in diſguiſe to the principal coffee-houſes in Conſtantinople. He there found a number of mal-contents, who, thinking the affairs of government were in reality the concern of every private perſon, ſpoke of them with warmth, and arraigned with great boldneſs the conduct of the generals and miniſters. He then viſited the taverns, where wine was ſold. They were full of plain people chiefly ſoldiers, who, accuſtomed to conſider the intereſts of the ſtate as thoſe of the prince, for whom they entertained a ſilent veneration, ſung lively ſongs, talked of their amours, and warlike exploits. Theſe laſt ſocieties, which were attended with no inconveniences, he thought ought to be tolerated: but the firſt he conſidered as dangerous in an arbitrary ſtate. He therefore ſuppreſſed them, and no attempts have ſince been made to revive them. This regulation, which was confined to the capital of the empire, has not diſcouraged the uſe of coffee, and has, perhaps, increaſed the conſumption of it. It is publickly offered to ſale in all the ſtreets and markets ready made, and is drunk in every family at leaſt twice a day. In ſome it is always ready, it being the cuſtom to offer it to all viſitors, and reckoned equally unpolite not to offer it, or to refuſe it.

At the very time that the coffee-houſes in Conſtantinople were ſhut, they were opened in London. This novelty was introduced there in 1652 by a merchant of the name of Edward, who returned from the Levant. The Engliſh were fond of it; and it has ſince been introduced among all the nations of Europe, but is drank with more moderation than in thoſe climates where religion prohibits the uſe of wine.

The tree that produces the coffee grows in the territory of Betelfagui, a town belonging to Yemen, ſituated

ated upon a dry ſand at the diſtance of ten leagues from the Red ſea. It is cultivated in a diſtrict fifty leagues long, and fifteen or twenty broad: the fruit is not every where in equal perfection. That which grows upon high ground is ſmaller, greener, weighs heavier, and is generally preferred to the others.

It is computed that Arabia contains twelve millions of inhabitants, among whom, in general, coffee conſtitutes a favourite article in their entertainments. None but the rich citizens have the pleaſure of taſting it in its genuine form. The generality are obliged to content themſelves with the ſhell, and the huſk of this valuable berry. Theſe appendages, ſo much deſpiſed, make a liquor of a pretty clear colour, which has the taſte of coffee without its bitterneſs and ſtrength. Theſe articles may be had at a low price at Betelfagui, which is the general market for them. Here likewiſe is ſold all the coffee which comes out of the country by land. The reſt is carried to Mocha, which is thirty-five leagues diſtant, or to the nearer ports of Lohia or Hodeida, from whence it is tranſported in ſmall veſſels to Jodda. The Egyptians fetch it from the laſt mentioned place, and all other nations from the former.

The quantity of coffee exported may be eſtimated at twelve millions five hundred and fifty thouſand weight. The European companies take off a million and a half; the Perſians three millions and a half; the fleet from Suez ſix millions and a half; Indoſtan, the Maldives, and the Arabian colonies on the coaſt of Africa, fifty thouſand; and the Caravans a million.

As the coffee which is bought up by the Caravans and the Europeans, is the beſt that can be procured, it coſts from ſixteen to ſeventeen ſols (about 8*d*. $\frac{1}{2}$) a pound. The Perſians, who content themſelves with that of an inferior quality, pay no more than twelve or thirteen ſols (about 6*d*. $\frac{1}{2}$.) a pound. The Egyptians

BOOK III.

purchaſe it at the rate of fifteen or ſixteen; (about 8*d*) their cargoes being compoſed partly of good and partly of bad coffee. If we eſtimate coffee at fourteen ſols (about 7*d*. ½.) a pound, which is the mean price, the profits accruing to Arabia from its annual exportation will amount to 8,785,000 livres. (384,343*l*. 15*s*.) This money does not go into their coffers; but it enables them to purchaſe the commodities brought from the foreign markets to their ports of Jodda and Mocha.

MOCHA receives from Abyſſinia ſheep, elephant's teeth, muſk, and ſlaves. It is ſupplied from the eaſtern coaſt of Africa with ſlaves, amber, and ivory; from the Perſian Gulf with dates, tobacco, and corn; from Surat with a vaſt quantity of coarſe, and a few fine linens; from Bombay and Pondicherry with iron, lead, copper, which are carried thither from Europe; from Malabar with rice, ginger, pepper, Indian ſaffron, with coire, cardamom, and even planks; from the Maldives with gum benzoin, aloes-wood, and pepper, which theſe iſlands take in exchange; from Coromandel, four or five hundred bales of cottons, chiefly blue. The greateſt part of theſe commodities, which may fetch ſix millions, (262,500*l*.) are conſumed in the interior part of the country. The reſt, particularly the cottons, find their way to Abyſſinia, Socotora, and the eaſtern coaſt of Africa.

NONE of the branches of buſineſs which are managed at Mocha, as well as throughout all the country of Yemen, or even at Sanaa, the capital, is in the hands of the natives. The extortions with which they are perpetually threatened by the government, deter them from interfering in them. All the warehouſes are occupied by the Banians of Surat or Guzerat, who make a point of returning to their own country as ſoon as they have made their fortune. They then reſign their

ſettlements

ſettlements to merchants of their own nation who retire in their turn, and are ſucceeded by others.

THE European companies, who enjoy the excluſive privilege of trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope, formerly maintained agents at Mocha. Notwithſtanding it was ſtipulated by a ſolemn capitulation that the impoſts demanded ſhould be rated, at two and a quarter per cent. they were ſubject to frequent extortions. The governor of the place inſiſting on their making him preſents, which enabled him to purchaſe the favour of the courtiers, or even of the prince himſelf. However the profits they obtained by the ſale of European goods, particularly cloths, inclined them to ſubmit to theſe repeated humiliations. When theſe ſeveral articles were furniſhed by grand Cairo, it was then impoſſible to withſtand the competition, and the fixed ſettlements were therefore given up.

THE trade is carried on by the ſhips that ſail from Europe with iron, lead, copper, and ſilver, ſufficient to pay for the coffee they intend to buy. The ſupercargoes, who have the care of theſe tranſactions, ſettle matters every voyage. Theſe expeditions, which at firſt were pretty numerous and advantageous, have been ſucceſſively laid aſide. The plantations of coffee, made by the European nations in their colonies, have equally leſſened the conſumption and the price of that which comes from Arabia. At the long run, theſe voyages did not yield a ſufficient profit to anſwer the high charges of direct expeditions. The companies of England and France then reſolved one of them to ſend ſhips from Bombay, and the other from Pondicherry to Mocha, with the merchandiſe of Europe and India. They even frequently had recourſe to a method that was leſs expenſive. The Engliſh and French who traffic from India to India, viſit the Red Sea every year. Though they

BOOK III.

they diſpoſe of their merchandiſe there to good advantage, they can never take in cargoes from thence for their return. They carry, for a moderate freight, the coffee belonging to the companies who lade the veſſels with it, which they diſpatch from Malabar and Coromandel to Europe. The Dutch company, who prohibit their ſervants from having armaments, and who fit out no expeditions themſelves for the Arabic Gulph, are deprived of the ſhare they might take in this branch of commerce. They have alſo given up a much more lucrative branch, that of Iodda.

IODDA is a port ſituated near the middle of the Arabic Gulph, twenty leagues from Jeruſalem. The government there is of a mixed kind: the Grand Seignior and the Xeriff of Mecca ſhare the authority and the revenue of the cuſtoms between them. Theſe impoſts are levied upon the Europeans at the rate of eight per cent. and upon other nations at thirteen. They are always paid in merchandiſe, which the managers oblige the merchants of the country to buy at a very dear rate. The Turks, who have been driven from Aden, Mocha, and every part of the Yemen, would long ago have been expelled from Iodda, if there had not been room to apprehend that they might revenge themſelves in ſuch a manner as to put an end to their pilgrimages and commerce.

SURAT ſends three ſhips every year to Iodda, which are laden with linens of all colours, ſhawls, cotton and ſilk ſtuffs, frequently ornamented with gold and ſilver flowers. The ſale of theſe goods produces ten millions of livres. (437,500*l*.) Two, and oftener three veſſels belonging to the Engliſh, ſail from Bengal for the ſame deſtination. They are fitted out by the free merchants of that nation. Formerly their company had concerns there;

there; at preſent theſe merchants have no aſſociates but the Armenians. Theſe united cargoes may be eſtimated at ſeven millions two hundred thouſand livres. (315,000*l.*) They conſiſt of rice, ginger, ſaffron, ſugar, a few ſilk ſtuffs, and a conſiderable quantity of linens, which are for the moſt part ordinary. Theſe veſſels, which may enter the Mediterranean from the beginning of December till the end of May find the fleet of Suez at Iodda.

THIS fleet commonly conſiſts of fourteen or fifteen veſſels laden with corn, rice, and pulſe, for the uſe of Arabia. They carry out for Aſia Venetian glaſs-ware, coral, yellow-amber, of which the Indians make necklaces and bracelets. They arrive together in October, and return together in February, with ſix million five hundred thouſand weight of coffee, and with linens or ſtuffs to the value of ſeven millions of livres. (306,250*l.*) Though they have only two hundred leagues to ſail to regain their poſt, they employ two months in the voyage; being retarded by the north wind which blows continually in this ſea. Their ignorance is ſuch, that though they are accuſtomed to caſt anchor every night, they think themſelves fortunate when they loſe only the ſixth part of their ſhips. If to theſe loſſes we add the great expence of their armaments, the exceſſive impoſts demanded at Suez, and the unavoidable extortions of a government that oppreſſes all induſtry, we ſhall be convinced that, in the preſent ſituation of things the correſpondence between Europe and India by this channel is impracticable.

THE merchandiſe brought from Surat and Bengal, which the Egyptian fleet does not take off, is partly conſumed in the country, and bought in great quantities by the caravans, which come every year to Mecca.

THE

BOOK III.

THE Arabs had ever entertained an affection for this city. They thought it had been the reſidence of Abraham, and they flocked from all parts to a temple of which they believed he was the founder. Mohammed, who was a man of too much underſtanding to attempt to aboliſh a devotion ſo generally eſtabliſhed, contented himſelf with rectifying the object of it. He baniſhed the idols from this revered place, and dedicated it to the unity of God. Mohammed was not the meſſenger of heaven; but he was an acute politician, and a great conqueror. To promote the concourſe of ſtrangers to a city which he intended to make the capital of his empire, he commanded that all who embraced his law ſhould once in their lives undertake a pilgrimage thither, on pain of dying reprobates. This precept was accompanied with another, which makes it evident that he was not guided by ſuperſtition alone. He ordered that every pilgrim, of whatever country he was, ſhould purchaſe five pieces of cotton, and get them conſecrated, and made into handkerchiefs for himſelf, and all the perſons belonging to his family, who were prevented by reaſonable impediments, from undertaking this holy expedition.

THIS policy might naturally be expected to make Arabia the center of a prodigious trade, when the number of pilgrims ſhould amount to ſeveral millions. This zeal is ſo much abated eſpecially on the coaſt of Africa, in Indoſtan and Perſia, in proportion to the reſpective diſtances of thoſe places from Mecca, that the number is reduced to a hundred and fifty thouſand: of which the Turks make the greateſt part. They carry away with them ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pieces of linen, each ten ells in length, excluſively of thoſe which many of them buy for ſale. They are encouraged in theſe mercantile ſchemes, by the advantages they have in croſſing the

the deſerts, and in not being expoſed to thoſe oppreſſive tolls which are ſo deſtructive in the ſea-ports of Suez and Baſſora. The money received from theſe pilgrims and from the fleet, and by the Arabs from the ſale of coffee, is expended in India. The veſſels from Surat, Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengal, annually carry away 14,400,000 livres, (630,000*l.*) and about the eighth part of this ſum in merchandiſe. When theſe riches come to be divided among the trading nations of Europe, the moſt conſiderable ſhare is appropriated by the Engliſh. They have acquired the ſame ſuperiority in Perſia.

General view of the trade in the Perſian Gulph, and that of the Engliſh in particular.

THE Engliſh nation had ſcarce been admitted into the empire of the Sophis, when, as we have obſerved, the Dutch reſorted there in great numbers. The trade of theſe republicans was at firſt eſtabliſhed on a very diſadvantageous footing; but being, by the civil wars of England, ſoon delivered from a rival whoſe various privileges were not to be overbalanced even by the greateſt oeconomy, they were in a ſhort time without competitors, and conſequently acquired an authority to ſet what price they thought proper on the commodities they bought or ſold. The connections of the Perſians with the Dutch were founded on this deſtructive ſyſtem; when the return of the Engliſh, who were ſoon after followed by the French, gave a new turn to affairs and put them upon a more equitable footing.

AT the time when the three nations exerted their utmoſt efforts to gain the ſuperiority, and theſe efforts turned to the advantage of the empire, they were harraſſed with a thouſand oppreſſions, ſome more unjuſt and odious than the reſt. The throne was continually filled with tyrannical or weak princes, whoſe cruelty and injuſtice, weakened the correſpondence of their ſubjects with

BOOK III.

with other nations. One of these tyrants was so savage, that a great man of his court used to say, *That whenever he came out of the king's closet he clapped both his hands to his head to feel whether it was still upon his shoulders.* When his successor was told that the finest provinces in empire were invaded by the Turks, he answerd coldly, *That their progress gave him very little disturbance, provided they would leave him the city of Ispahan.* His son was so meanly enslaved to the most frivolous observances of his religion, that he was stiled, by way of derision, *Hussein the monk, or priest:* a character less odious, perhaps, in a prince, but much more dangerous to his people, than that of impiety, or defiance of the gods. Under these despicable sovereigns, mercantile affairs every day declined more and more at Gombroon. The Afghans reduced them to nothing.

THESE are a people of Candahar, a mountainous country, lying north of India. They have sometimes been subject to the Moguls, sometimes to the Persians, but more frequently independent. Those that do not reside in the capital live in tents, after the manner of the Tartars. They are of low stature and ill made; but are nervous, robust and skilled in the use of the bow, and in horsemanship, and inured to fatigue. Their manner of fighting is singular; picked soldiers, divided into two troops, fall upon the enemy without any order only endeavouring to open the way for the army that follows them. As soon as the battle is begun, they retire to the flanks and rear-guard, where their business is to prevent any person from giving way. If any soldier attempts to fly, they attack him with their sabres, and compel him to resume his ranks.

ABOUT the beginning of the century, this fierce people left their mountains poured into Persia, carried devastation every where, and at length subdued it, after a carnage

nage of twenty years. Fanaticiſm prolonged the horrid outrages with which they were ſtained in the courſe of their conqueſt. An inſatiable zeal for the Turkiſh ſuperſtition, and an unconquerable averſion for the ſect of Ali, prompted them to maſſacre thouſands of Perſians in cold blood. In the mean time, the provinces they had not entered, were ravaged by the Ruſſians, Turks, and Tartars. Thomas Kouli-Khan drove theſe robbers out of this country, but ſhewed himſelf ſtill more barbarous than they. His violent death gave birth to new calamities. Anarchy aggravates the cruelties of tyranny. One of the fineſt empires in the world, is become an extenſive ſcene of deſolation, and a laſting and ſhameful monument of that deſtructive inſtinct that animates uncivilized people, and is at the ſame time an inevitable conſequence of the vices of deſpotic government.

During this general confuſion, the Engliſh ſales in Perſia conſiſted of no more than a hundred bales of woollen goods, two hundred thouſand weight of iron, and the ſame quantity of lead. Theſe articles, taken together, brought them no more than from twelve to thirteen hundred thouſand livres (554,687*l.* 10*s.*) paid in money. This deadneſs of trade determined the company to follow the example of their rivals, and to ſeek thoſe advantages at Baſſora, which they could not obtain at Gombroon.

Bassora is a large city, built by the Arabs, in the eighth of their proſperity, fifteen leagues below the place where the Tigris and Euphrates meet and at the ſame diſtance from the Perſian Gulph, into which theſe rivers diſembogue themſelves. Its inhabitants are computed at fifty thouſand; conſiſting of Arabs, fifteen hundred Armenians, and a ſmall number of families of different nations whom the hope of gain has attracted hither.

BOOK III.

hither. Its territory abounds in rice, fruits, pulſe, cotton and particularly in dates.

THE port Baſſora, as thoſe who firſt eſtabliſhed it foreſaw, became a famous mart. The merchandiſe of Europe was brought thither by the Euphrates, and that of India by ſea. The tyranny of the Portugueſe intercepted this communication. It would have been opened again when their power declined, had not this unhappy country continually been the ſcene of the diſputes between the Arabs, the Perſians, and the Turks. This laſt power being in quiet poſſeſſion of this harbour, have availed themſelves of the troubles of their neighbours to renew the trade. The mercantile buſineſs, which was before tranſacted at Gombroon, is at preſent centered at Baſſora, which has recovered its credit and importance.

THIS change has not been effected without difficulty. At firſt the people of the country were deſirous of confining the traders to the river. They foreſaw, that if theſe foreigners were permitted to ſettle in the city; they would not be ſo much under their direction, and might lay up in their magazines ſuch of their commodities as they could not ſell during one monſoon, with a view of diſpoſing of them with greater advantage at another time. To this maxim, which was the reſult of an ill-judged avarice, were added others ariſing from ſuperſtitious notions. It was deemed a violation of the reſpect due to religion to permit infidels to inhabit a city conſecrated by the blood of ſo many martyrs and ſaints of the Mohammedan perſuaſion. This prejudice ſeemed to have ſome weight with the government. Theſe ſcruples were overcome. Pecuniary conſiderations were offered by theſe nations, and they were allowed to eſtabliſh factories, and even to diſplay their reſpective flags belonging to their country.

REVOLUTIONS

REVOLUTIONS are ſo frequent in Aſia, that trade cannot poſſibly be carried on in the ſame continued track that it is in Europe. Theſe events, joined to the little communication ſubſiſting between the different ſtates by ſea and land, muſt naturally occaſion great variations in the quantity and value of commodities. Baſſora, on account of its great diſtance from the center of buſineſs, is more expoſed to this inconvenience than any other place. However, upon an average, we may, without fearing to be very wide of the truth, venture to eſtimate the merchandiſe annually brought by way of the gulph, at twelve millions, (525,000*l.*) Of this the Engliſh furniſh four millions, (175,000*l.*) the Dutch two; (87,500*l.*) the Moors, Banians, Armenians and Arabs, furniſh the remainder.

THE cargoes of theſe nations conſiſt of rice, ſugar, plain, ſtriped and flowered muſlins from Bengal, ſpices from Ceylon, and the Molucca iſlands; coarſe white and blue cottons from Coromandel; cardamon, pepper, ſanders-wood, from Malabar; gold and ſilver ſtuffs, turbans, ſhawls, indigo, from Surat; pearls from Baharen, and coffee from Mocha; iron, lead, and woollen-cloth from Europe. Other articles of leſs conſequence are imported from different places. Some of theſe commodities are ſhipped on board ſmall Arabian veſſels, but the greater part is brought by European ſhips, which have the advantage of a conſiderable freight.

THIS merchandiſe is ſold for ready money; and paſſes through the hands of the Greeks, Jews, and Armenians. The current money is converted at Baſſora, by the Banians, into ſpecie that paſſes better in India.

THE different commodities collected at Baſſora, are diſtributed into three channels. One half of them goes to Perſia, where they are conveyed by the Caravans: there being no navigable river in the whole empire.

BOOK III.

The chief conſumption is in the northern provinces, which have not been ſo much ravaged as thoſe in the ſouth. Both of them formerly made their payments in precious ſtones, which were become common by the plunder of India. They had afterwards recourſe to copper utenſils, which their mines furniſhed in great abundance. At preſent they give gold and ſilver in exchange, which had been concealed during a long ſcene of tyranny, and are conſtantly dug out of the bowels of the earth. If they do not allow time for the trees that produce gum and have been cut, to make freſh ſhoots; if they neglect to multiply the breed of the goats which afford ſuch fine wool; and if the ſilks which are hardly ſufficient to ſupply the few manufacturers remaining in Perſia continue to be ſo ſcarce; if this empire does not riſe again from its aſhes, the mines will be exhauſted, and this ſource of commerce muſt be given up.

THE ſecond channel is a more ſure one, by the way of Bagdad, Aleppo, and other intermediate towns, whoſe merchants come to buy their goods at Baſſora. Coffee, linen, ſpices, and other merchandiſe that paſs this way, are taken in exchange for gold, French woollen-cloths, galls, and orpiment which is an ingredient in colours, and much uſed by the eaſtern people in extirpating hair from their bodies.

ANOTHER much leſs conſiderable channel is that of Arabia Deſerta, The Arabs, bordering upon Baſſora, repair annually to Aleppo in the ſpring, to ſell their camels. It is uſual to give them credit for muſlins to the amount of ſix hundred thouſand livres, which they buy very cheap. They return in the autumn, bringing woollen-cloths, coral, hard-ware, and ſome glaſs and mirrors from Venice. The Arabian Caravans never meet with any interruption in their journey; nor are foreigners

foreigners in any danger, if they take care to carry along with them a perſon belonging to each of the tribes they may happen to meet with. This road through the deſert would be univerſally preferred to that of Bagdad, on account of ſafety, expedition, and the advantages of ſale, if the Pacha of the province, who has eſtabliſhed tolls in different parts of his territory, did not uſe every poſſible precaution to hinder this communication. It is only, by eluding the vigilance of his deputies, that one can prevail upon the Arabs to carry with them ſome goods, which will not take up much room.

Besides theſe experiments, there is a pretty large conſumption, eſpecially of coffee, at Baſſora, and the territories belonging to it. Theſe articles are paid for in dates, pearls, roſe-water, dried fruits, and grain when that is allowed to be diſpoſed of to foreigners.

This trade would be more extenſive if it were freed from the ſhackles that confine it. But the activity that might be expected from the natives of the country is continually damped by the oppreſſions they labour under, eſpecially at a diſtance from the centre of the empire. The foreigners are no leſs diſtreſſed by the governors, whoſe extortions furniſh them with the means of keeping their poſts, and frequently of preſerving their lives. Were it poſſible in ſome meaſure to aſſuage this thirſt of gold, it would ſoon be renewed by the rivalry of the European nations, whoſe ſole aim is to ſupplant one another, and, who, to gain their ends, ſcruple not to employ the moſt execrable expedients. A ſtriking inſtance of this odious ſpirit of jealouſy happened in 1748.

Baron Knyphauſen managed the Dutch factory at Baſſora with extraordinary ſucceſs. The Engliſh found themſelves in imminent danger of loſing the ſuperiority they had acquired at this place as well as in moſt of the

BOOK III.

ſea-ports in India. The dread of an event which muſt wound at the ſame time their intereſts and their vanity betrayed them into injuſtice. They excited the Turkiſh government to ſuppreſs a branch of trade that was uſeful to it, and procured an order for the confiſcation of the merchandiſe and poſſeſſions of their rivals.

THE Dutch factor, who under the character of a merchant, concealed the ſtateſman, inſtantly took a reſolution worthy of a man of genius. He retired with his dependents and the broken remains of his fortune to Karek, a ſmall iſland at the diſtance of fifteen leagues from the mouth of the river: where he fortified himſelf in ſuch a manner, that by intercepting the Arabian and Indian veſſels, bound for the city, he compelled the government to grant him an indemnification for the loſſes he had ſuſtained by its behaviour. The fame of his integrity and abilities drew to his iſland the privateers of the neighbouring ports, the very merchants of Baſſora and the Europeans who traded thither. This new colony found its proſperity increaſe every day, when it was abandoned by its founder. The ſucceſſor of this able man did not diſplay the ſame talents. Towards the end of the year 1765 he ſuffered himſelf to be diſpoſſeſſed of his iſland by the Arabian Corſair Mirmahana. The company have loſt an important poſt, and more than two millions (87,500*l.*) in artillery, proviſions and merchandiſe.

BY this event Baſſora was freed from a rivalry that was prejudicial to its intereſt; but an unforeſeen and much more formidable one has ſucceeded in its room, which is that of Muſkat.

MUSKAT is a city in Arabia, ſituated on the weſtern ſide of the Perſian gulph. The great Albuquerque made himſelf maſter of it in 1507, and ruined its trade, which he wanted to transfer wholly to Ormus. When the

the Portugueſe had loſt this ſmall kingdom, they were deſirous of reviving the trade at Muſkat, of which they ſtill kept poſſeſſion. Their endeavours proved ineffectual; and the merchants bent their courſe to Gombroon. They dreaded the inſolence of the old tyrants of India; and were unwilling to rely upon their fidelity. No veſſels entered the harbour except thoſe brought by themſelves. It ceaſed to be frequented by the ſhips of every nation, after theſe imperious maſters were driven from it in 1648. Their pride getting the better of their ſelf-intereſt, made them no longer deſirous of going thither: and had ſtill power ſufficient to prevent any ſhips from entering or going out.

THE declenſion of their power tempted the inhabitants of Muſkat to the ſame acts of piracy, to which they had long been expoſed. They made deſcents upon the coaſts of their ancient oppreſſors; and the ſucceſs they met with encouraged them to attack the ſmall Mooriſh and European veſſels that frequented the Perſian gulph. But they were ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed for their depredations by ſeveral nations, and eſpecially by the Engliſh, that they were obliged to deſiſt. From that period the city remained in a ſtate of neglect, which was prolonged for a conſiderable time by inteſtine broils, and foreign invaſions. At length the government aſſuming a more regular form at Muſkat, and in the whole country, under the juriſdiction of its Iman, its commerce began to revive about the year 1749.

THE articles of conſumption in the country itſelf are rice; blue linens, iron, lead, ſugar, and ſome ſpices; the returns for which are made in myrrh, incenſe, gum-arabic, and a ſmall quantity of ſilver. This conſumption, however, would not be conſiderable enough to invite ſhips hither, if Muſkat, which is ſituated pretty near the entrance of the Perſian ſea,

BOOK III.

were not an excellent mart for the innermoſt part of the gulph. All trading nations begin to give it the preference to Baſſora; becauſe it makes their voyage ſhorter by three months; they are free from any kind of extortion; and imports are lowered to one and a half per cent. The merchandiſe, indeed, is afterwards to be carried to Baſſora, where it pays a tax of three per cent. but the Arabs make ſuch advantage of their boats, and have ſo many methods of eluding the tolls, that they will always find their account in diſpoſing of their goods at Muſkat. Beſides this, the dates, which are produced at Baſſora in greater plenty and perfection than any other article, and are often ſpoilt on board large veſſels that ſail ſlowly, are brought with the utmoſt expedition in light barks to Malabar, and the Red Sea. There is a particular reaſon which will always determine the Engliſh, who trade for themſelves, to frequent Muſkat. They are there exempted from the five per cent. which they are obliged to pay at Baſſora, as well as at all other places where their company have made ſettlements.

THIS company have never attempted to eſtabliſh themſelves on the iſland of Baharen; which we are at a loſs to account for. This iſland which lies in the Perſian Gulph, has often changed its maſters. It fell, with Ormus, under the dominion of the Portugueſe, and was governed by the ſame laws. Theſe conquerors were afterwards deprived of it, and it has ſince undergone a variety of revolutions. Thomas Kouli Khan reſtored it to Perſia to which it had belonged. This haughty uſurper at that time conceived the plan of an extenſive authority. He wanted to make himſelf maſter of two ſeas, ſome coaſts of which he already poſſeſſed: but finding that his ſubjects oppoſed his deſign inſtead of favouring it, he had recourſe to one of thoſe

arbitrary

arbitrary acts which tyrants make no ſcruple of exerciſing, and tranſported his ſubjects in the Perſian gulph to the Caſpian ſea, and thoſe in the Caſpian ſea to the Perſian gulph. He looked upon this double tranſmigration as the neceſſary means of breaking the connections which both theſe people had formed with his enemies, and of ſecuring their fidelity, if he could not engage their attachment. His death put a period to his vaſt deſigns: and the confuſion into which his empire was thrown, afforded a fair opportunity to an ambitious and enterpriſing Arab of taking poſſeſſion of Baharen, where he ſtill maintains his authority.

THIS iſland, famous for its pearl fiſhery even at the time when pearls were found at Ormus, Karek, Keſhy, and other places in the Gulph, is now become of much greater conſequence; the other banks having been exhauſted, while thoſe near it have ſuffered no ſenſible diminution. The time of fiſhing begins in April, and ends in October. It is confined to a tract of four or five leagues. The Arabs who alone follow this employment, paſs their nights upon the iſland or the coaſt, unleſs they are prevented by the wind from going on ſhore. They formerly paid a toll which was received by the galliots on that ſtation. Since the laſt changes, none but the inhabitants of this iſland pay this acknowledgment to their chief, who is not in a condition to demand them from others.

THE pearls taken at Baharen, though not ſo white as thoſe of Ceylon and Japan, are much larger than thoſe of the former place, and of a more regular ſhape than thoſe of the latter. They are of a yellowiſh caſt; but have this recommendation, that they preſerve their golden hue; whereas the whiter kind loſe much of their luſtre by keeping, particularly in hot countries. The ſhell of both theſe ſpecies, which is known by the name

BOOK III.

of mother of pearl, is uſed in Aſia for various purpoſes.

THE annual revenue, ariſing from the fiſhery in the latitude of Baharen, is computed at 3,600,000 livres, (157,500*l.*) The greateſt part of the pearls that are uneven, are carried to Conſtantinople, and other ports of Turky; where the larger compoſe part of the ornaments of the head-dreſs, and the ſmaller are uſed in works of embroidery. The perfect pearls are of courſe reſerved for Surat, from whence they are diſtributed throughout all Indoſtan. The women have ſo ſtrong a paſſion for luxury, and the ſale of this article is ſo much increaſed by ſuperſtition, that there is not the leaſt reaſon to apprehend any diminution either in the price or the demand. There are none of the Gentiles who do not make a point of religion to bore at leaſt one pearl at the time of their marriage. Whatever may be the myſterious meaning of this cuſtom among a people whoſe morality and politics are couched in allegories, or where allegory becomes religion; this emblem of virgin modeſty has proved advantageous to the pearl trade. The pearls that have not newly been bored, make a part of dreſs; but cannot have a place in the marriage ceremony, where one new pearl at leaſt is indiſpenſible. They are accordingly always ſold five and twenty or thirty per cent. cheaper than thoſe brought from the Gulph where they are taken. There are no pearls at Malabar: but it has riches of another kind.

General ſtate of the trade on the coaſt of Malabar; and that of the Engliſh in particular.

MALABAR is, properly ſpeaking, a country ſituated between Cape Comorin, and the river of Neticeram. But to make our narrative the better underſtood by accommodating it to the notions generally received in Europe; we ſhall give this name to the whole tract extending from the Indus to Cape Comorin, including the adjacent iſlands, and beginning with the Maldives.

THE

THE Maldives form a longer chain of iſlands to the weſt of Cape Comorin, which is the neareſt part of the Terra Firma. They are divided into thirteen provinces, which are called atollons. This diviſion is the work of nature, which has ſurrounded each atollon with a barrier of rocks, which is a better defence than the beſt fortification againſt the impetuoſity of the waves, or the attacks of an enemy. The natives compute the number of theſe iſlands at twelve thouſand; the ſmalleſt of which are nothing more than banks of ſand that are overflowed at high tides, and the largeſt very ſmall in circumference. Of all the channels that ſeparate them, there are only four capable of receiving ſhips. The reſt are ſo ſhallow, that they have ſeldom more than three feet water. It is conjectured, with probability, that all theſe different iſlands were formerly one, and that the force of the waves and currents, or ſome great natural event has divided them into ſeveral portions.

IT is probable, that this Archipelago was originally peopled from Malabar. Afterwards the Arabians ſailed thither, uſurped the ſovereignty, and eſtabliſhed their own religion. The two nations united together: when the Portugueſe, ſoon after their arrival in India, reduced them into ſubjection. This tyranny was of ſhort continuance. The garriſon which held them in ſlavery was exterminated, and the Maldives recovered their independence. Since this period they have fallen under the yoke of an arbitrary prince, who keeps his court at Male, and has reſigned the whole authority to the prieſts. He is the ſole merchant in his dominions.

AN adminiſtration of this ſtamp, and the barrenneſs of the country which produces nothing but cocoa-trees, hinder the trade from being conſiderable. The exports conſiſt only of cowries, fiſh and kayar.

KAYAR

BOOK III.

KAYAR is the bark of the cocoa-tree, of which cables are made, which ſerve for the Indian navigation. This is no where ſo good, and in ſuch plenty as in the Maldives. A great quantity is carried together with cowries to Ceylon, where theſe commodities are exchanged for the arekka nut.

THE fiſh, called in the country, complemaſſe, is dried in the ſun. It is ſalted by plunging it ſeveral times into the ſea; and cut into pieces of the thickneſs and length of a man's finger. Cargoes of it are annually brought to Achen, which are purchaſed with gold and benzoin. The gold goes no farther than the Maldives; and the benzoin is ſent to Mocha, where it procures in return about three hundred bales of coffee for the conſumption of theſe iſlands.

COWRIES are white and ſhining ſhells. They fiſh for them twice a month; three days before the new moon, and three days after. This employment belongs to the women, who wade to the middle in water to gather them upon the ſands. They are put up in parcels containing twelve thouſand. Thoſe that are not circulated in the country, or carried to Ceylon, are ſent to the banks of the Ganges. A great number of veſſels annually ſail from this river, laden with ſugar, rice, linen, and other leſs conſiderable articles for the uſe of the Maldives, and return with a cargo of cowries valued at about 700,000 livres, (30,625*l.*) One part is circulated in Bengal, where it ſerves as ſmall coin. The reſt is taken off by the Europeans, who turn it to account in their trade with Africa. They buy it at ſix ſols (about 3d.) a pound, and ſell it from twelve to eighteen (near 8d. on an average) in their ſeveral capitals: it is worth thirty-five (1*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* ½.) in Guinea.

THE kingdom of Travancore, which extends from Cape Comorin to the frontiers of Cochin, was formerly little

little more opulent than the Maldives. It is probable that it owed the preſervation of its independency to its poverty, when the Moguls made themſelves maſters of Madura. The preſent monarch's father added more dignity to his crown than any of his predeceſſors. He was a man of great abilities. One of the neighbouring ſtates had ſent him two ambaſſadors, one of whom began a long harangue, which the other was preparing to continue. *Be not tedious, life is ſhort*, ſaid the prince, with an auſtere brow. He formed a ſmall body of troops of the French and Portugueſe deſerters, which, in time of peace, did duty in the citadel of Kotate, with as much regularity as our garriſons, and were of ſignal ſervice in enlarging his dominions in time of war. The interior parts of his country were benefited by his conqueſts, a circumſtance that rarely happens. He eſtabliſhed there large cotton manufactures, which were ſold at firſt to the Dutch at Tutocorin, and were afterwards carried to the Engliſh factory at Anjengo.

THERE are two European ſettlements in the kingdom of Travancore: that of the Danes at Kolechy is nothing more than a ſmall ſtorehouſe, where they might nevertheleſs be regularly ſupplied with two hundred thouſand weight of pepper. Such is their indolence, or their poverty, that they have made but one purchaſe, and that only of a very ſmall quantity, theſe ten years.

THE Engliſh factory at Anjengo has four ſmall baſtions without ditches, and a garriſon of a hundred and fifty black and white men. It is ſituated on a ſandy point of land at the mouth of a ſmall river, which is three fourths of the year choaked up with ſand. Its village is well peopled, and a variety of trades are exerciſed there. This ſettlement is, in general, more lucrative to the agents of the company who buy pepper,

BOOK III.

per, large cinnamon, and very good kayar, on their account, than to the company themſelves, who trade only for fifty thouſand weight of pepper, and ſome linens of ſmall value.

COCHIN was a place of great note when the Portugueſe arrived in India. They made themſelves maſters of it, and were afterwards diſpoſſeſſed by the Dutch. The ſovereign, when he loſt it, had preſerved his dominions, which in the ſpace of twenty-five years, have been repeatedly invaded by the kingdom of Travancore. His misfortunes have obliged him to retire under the walls of his ancient capital, where he lives upon a revenue of 14,400 livres, (630*l.*) which was ſtipulated to be paid him by ancient capitulations, out of the produce of his cuſtoms. In the ſame ſuburb is a colony of induſtrious Jews, who are white men, and idly pretend to have been ſettled here at the time of the Babyloniſh captivity, but have certainly been ſo a very long time. A town encompaſſed with fertile lands, and built upon a river that receives veſſels of five hundred tons burthen, and communicates by ſeveral navigable branches to the interior parts of the country, may naturally be expected to be in a flouriſhing condition. If it is otherwiſe, the blame muſt lie on the oppreſſive nature of the government.

THIS malignant ſpirit is at leaſt as ſenſibly felt at Calicut: all nations are admitted thither, but none have the aſcendent. The ſovereign who reſigns there at preſent is a Bramin. This is almoſt the only throne in India that is filled by a perſon of this firſt claſs. In other places the crown is worn by the inferior claſſes; and even by perſons of ſuch obſcure origin, that their domeſtics would be diſhonoured and baniſhed from their tribes, if they condeſcended even to eat with their monarchs. Theſe people take care not to boaſt of

ſupping

ſupping with the king: this prejudice is not, perhaps, more ridiculous than any other. It humbles the pride of princes, and cures courtiers of a piece of vanity. Such is the influence of ſuperſtition: it is this that gives riſe to the univerſal prevalence of opinion. By ſuperſtition artifice divides the empire with power, when the latter has conquered and enſlaved the world, the former interpoſes and preſcribes laws in its turn: they enter into a league with each other, mankind fall proſtrate, and ſubmit to their chains. Accordingly the Bramins, who are the depoſitaries of religion and the ſciences throughout Indoſtan, are every where employed by the Rajah as miniſters or ſecretaries of ſtate, and make what arrangements they think proper; but affairs are not the better managed on that account.

The adminiſtration of Calicut is bad in general, and that of the capital ſtill worſe. No police is eſtabliſhed, no fortifications are raiſed. The trade, which is clogged with a multiplicity of impoſts, is almoſt entirely in the hands of a few of the moſt abandoned and faithleſs Moors in Aſia. One of its greateſt advantages is, that by the river Baypore, which is only at two leagues diſtance, it has the means of being furniſhed with teak timber, which grows upon the plains and mountains in great abundance.

The territories that border upon Calicut, and belong to the Houſe of Colaſtry, are little known; except by the French colony at Mahé, which is gathering freſh ſtrength, and that of the Engliſh at Tellecherry, which has met with no diſaſter. The latter has a fort flanked with four baſtions without ditches, a garriſon of three hundred Europeans, five hundred ſipahis, and inhabitants to the amount of about fifteen thouſand. The company to which it belongs receives from it annually

BOOK III.

nually fifteen hundred thouſand pound weight of pepper.

If we except a few principalities that ſcarce deſerve mention, the ſtates we have been deſcribing properly conſtitute the whole of the Malabar coaſt, a country more agreeable than opulent. The exports are few, beſides aromatics and ſpices. The principal articles are ſanders wood, Indian ſaffron, cardamon, ginger, baſtard cinnamon, and pepper.

The ſantalum or ſanders grows to the ſize of a walnut tree; the fruit, which in ſome degree reſembles a cherry, is of no value. The wood, which is better in Malabar than in any other place except Kanara, where it grows in ſtill higher perfection, is either red, yellow, or white. From the two laſt kinds an oil is extracted, with which the Chineſe, Indians, Perſians, Arabians and Turks anoint their bodies. It is likewiſe burnt in their houſes, and yields a fragrant and wholeſome ſmell. The red ſanders is leaſt eſteemed, and is ſcarce ever uſed but in medicine.

The Indian ſaffron, called by the phyſicians curcuma, is a plant with leaves reſembling thoſe of the white hellebore; the flower is of a fine purple colour, and the fruit has, like our cheſnuts a rough coat containing the ſeed, which is round like a pea. The root, which has a bitter taſte, and has long been eſteemed of an aperient quality, was formerly uſed as a remedy for the jaundice. The Indians make a yellow die of it, and it is an ingredient in moſt of their diſhes.

The cardamon is a grain generally uſed in Indian ragoûts: it propagates itſelf without ſowing or planting. Nothing more is required than, as ſoon as the rainy ſeaſon is over, to ſet fire to the herb that has produced it. It is often mixed with arekka and betel, and ſometimes chewed afterwards. The moſt eſteemed ſort,

ſort, which is ſmall, grows in the territory of Cananor; it is uſed in medicine chiefly to help digeſtion, and to ſtrengthen the ſtomach.

GINGER is a plant whoſe root is white, tender, and almoſt as pungent to the palate as pepper. The Indians put it into their rice, which is their common diet, to correct its natural inſipidity. This ſpice, mixed with others, gives the diſhes ſeaſoned with it a ſtrong taſte, which is extremely diſagreeable to ſtrangers. The Europeans, however, who come to Aſia without fortunes, are obliged to accuſtom themſelves to it. The others adopt it out of complaiſance to their wives, who are generally natives of the country. It is here, as well as in all other places, much eaſier for the men to conform to the taſtes and foibles of the women, than to get the better of them. Perhaps too the climate may require this manner of living.

BASTARD cinnamon, known in Europe by the name of caſſia lignea, is to be had at Timor, Java, and Mindanao; but that which grows on the Malabar coaſt is much ſuperior. The Dutch, deſpairing of their power to extirpate the trees in the foreſts that produce it, fell upon the expedient during their ſuperiority in Malabar, of compelling the ſovereigns of the country to give up their right to bark them. This prohibition, which was never ſtrictly complied with, has been leſs ſo ſince the nation that made it has loſt its authority, and the price of the cinnamon of Ceylon has been advanced in conſequence of that meaſure. The preſent produce at Malabar may be computed at two hundred thouſand weight. The leaſt part of it is brought to Europe, where it is ſold for the beſt ſort by merchants who are not very honeſt; the reſt is ſent over all India, where it ſells from twenty to twenty-five ſols (from 10d. halfp. to about 13d.) a pound, though it coſts no more than

ſix,

BOOK III.

ſix, (about 3d.) The trade is entirely in the hands of the free Engliſh merchants; it may admit of improvement, but will never come near that of pepper.

THE pepper-plant is a ſhrub whoſe root is ſmall, fibrous, and flexible; it riſes into a ſtem, which requires a tree or a prop to ſupport it. Its wood has the ſame ſort of knots as the vine; and when it is dry, it exactly reſembles the vine-branch. The leaves, which have a ſtrong ſmell and a pungent taſte, are oval; but diminiſh towards the extremity, and terminate in a point. From the flower-buds, which are white, and are ſometimes placed in the middle and ſometimes at the extremity of the branches, are produced ſmall berries reſembling thoſe of the currant-tree. Each of theſe contains between twenty and thirty corns of pepper; they are commonly gathered in October, and expoſed to the ſun ſeven or eight days. The fruit, which was green at firſt, and afterwards red, when ſtripped of its covering, becomes ſuch as we ſee it. The largeſt, heavieſt, and leaſt ſhrivelled, is the beſt.

THE pepper-plant flouriſhes in the iſlands of Java, Sumatra, and Ceylon, and more particularly on the Malabar coaſt. It is not ſown, but planted; and great nicety is required in the choice of the ſhoots. It produces no fruit till the end of three years; but bears ſo plentifully the three ſucceeding years, that ſome plants yield between ſix and ſeven pounds of pepper. The bark then begins to ſhrink; and the ſhrub declines ſo faſt, that in twelve years time it ceaſes bearing.

THE culture of pepper is not difficult; it is only neceſſary to plant it in a rich ſoil, and that the weeds that grow in great abundance round its roots be carefully pulled up, eſpecially the three firſt years. As the ſun is highly neceſſary to the growth of the pepper-plant, when it is ready to bear, the trees that ſupport it

it muſt be lopped to prevent their ſhade from injuring the fruit. When the ſeaſon is over, it is proper to prune the plant quite to the top. Without this precaution there would be too much wood, and little fruit.

THE pepper exported from Malabar, which was formerly entirely in the hands of the Portugueſe, and is at preſent divided between the Dutch, Engliſh, and French, amounts to about ten millions weight. At ten ſols a pound (5d. $\frac{1}{4}$.) it is worth five millions, (218,750l.) it is exported, with other productions, for half that ſum. By the ſale of theſe commodities the country is enabled to purchaſe rice from the Ganges and Kanara, coarſe linens from Myſore and Bengal, and ſeveral goods ſent from Europe. The payments in money amount to little or nothing.

KANARA, a country bordering upon Malabar properly ſo called, was formerly more opulent. It was an almoſt inexhauſtible granary of rice; but has been much on the decline ſince it ſubmitted to the yoke of Heyder-Aly-Khan. The trade of this ſtate, which was carried on freely at Mangulore the capital, is intirely engroſſed by the conqueror, who refuſes to let thoſe have goods that do not furniſh him with arms, powder and ammunition. The Portugueſe are the only people exempted from this law, who having formerly been maſters of this province, have always retained one ſtore-houſe which ſupplies Goa.

THE commerce that invited Venice from her canals and Amſterdam from her marſhes, had rendered Goa the center of the riches of India, and the moſt celebrated mart in the world. It is now reduced to nothing, though defended by two thouſand European ſoldiers, a company of artillery, five thouſand ſipahis, and coſts the ſtate annually thirteen or fourteen hundred thou-

BOOK III.

ſand livres, (about 59,100 on an average.) Superſtition, the Autos da Fé, and the monks extinguiſh all deſire of ſeeing it reſtored to its former ſtate. Deprived of ſo many fertile provinces, which implicitly obeyed its laws, it has nothing remaining but the ſmall iſland on which it is built, and the two peninſulas that form its harbour.

NEAR a century ago a power was eſtabliſhed by ſea and land to the north of Goa, the growth of which was not foreſeen by any body. The name of the founder of it was Konna Ji Angria. He made himſelf maſter of the ſmall iſland of Severndroog, where he ſerved as a ſoldier, and built a light veſſel on which he embarked as a pirate. At firſt he confined his attacks to the Mooriſh or Indian veſſels trading upon that coaſt. His ſucceſs, experience, and the number of adventurers whom the fame of his courage and generoſity invited to join him, enabled him to engage in the greateſt enterprizes. By degrees he acquired a dominion extending forty leagues over the ſea, and between twenty and thirty miles over land, according as the places were ſituated conveniently for defence. His ſucceſs and renown were, however, principally owing to his naval operations: which were ſucceſsfully kept up by his ſucceſſors. Maſters of the coaſt, theſe pirates attacked the veſſels of all nations without diſtinction. Beſides a great number of ſmall craft, they ſeized the largeſt ſhips belonging to the Engliſh, the Jupiter belonging to the French, and three Dutch veſſels at once, one of which carried fifty guns.

THE plan of the Engliſh was diſconcerted by theſe depredations. They had viewed with pleaſure the firſt attempts of theſe pirates, which threw the greateſt part of the trade, and the whole navigation into their hands; becauſe their ſhips were of greater force and better manned than thoſe of the country. They could no longer

longer boaſt this advantage, when the veſſels belonging to Bombay, which traded upon the coaſt were inſulted, the cargoes plundered, and the ſailors taken priſoners. The precaution taken never to ſail without a convoy was very expenſive, and proved ineffectual. The convoys were often diſperſed and ſometimes taken. Theſe depredations determined the company in 1722 to join their forces with thoſe of the Portugueſe, who were equally exaſperated againſt theſe pirates; and it was determined between them to deſtroy the place of their reſort. The expedition was diſgraceful and abortive. That which was undertaken by the Dutch, two years after, with ſeven men of war and two bomb ketches, met with no better ſucceſs. At length the Marattos, upon Angria's refuſing to pay a tribute which had long been cuſtomary, agreed to attack the common enemy by land, whilſt the Engliſh attacked them by ſea. This confederacy obtained for them a complete conqueſt. Moſt of the harbours and forts were taken in the campaign of 1755. Geriah, the capital, ſurrendered the year following, and with it fell an empire, whoſe proſperity had been only founded on public calamities. By its ruin the power of the Marattos, which was formidable already, was unhappily increaſed.

THESE people, who had been long confined within the limits of their mountains, have by degrees extended themſelves towards the ſea, and at preſent poſſeſs the large tract between Surat and Goa, where they equally threaten theſe two cities. They are famous for their incurſions and depredations on the coaſt of Coromandel, the neighbourhood of Delhi, and on the banks of the Ganges; but the centre of their greateſt ſtrength, and their fixed ſtation is at Malabar. That ſpirit of rapine, which they carry into the countries where they occaſionally make inroads, is not to be found in the provinces

BOOK III.

they have conquered. One may venture to predict, that Bacaim Chaul, Dabul, and many other places, that were ſo long oppreſſed by the tyranny of the Portugueſe will make ſome figure again under the government of the Marattos. The fate of Surat is an object of ſtill greater importance.

THIS town was for a long time the only ſea-port for the exportation of the manufactures of the Mogul empire, and the importation of whatever was neceſſary to ſupply its conſumption. To ſecure its allegiance, and provide for its defence, a citadel was built, the commandant of which had no authority over that of the town; care was even taken to chuſe two governors, who, from their character, were not likely to unite in oppreſſing trade. Some diſagreeable circumſtances gave riſe to a third power. The Indian ſeas were infeſted with pirates who interrupted the navigation, and hindered devout Muſſulmen from making voyages to Mecca. The emperor thought the ſuperintendant of a colony at Coffrees, ſettled at Rajapour, would be a proper perſon to ſtop the progreſs of theſe depredations, and appointed him his admiral. Three lacks of roupees, or 720,000 livres, (between 30,000*l.* and 40,000*l.*) were aſſigned him for his annual pay. This ſalary not being punctually paid, the admiral ſeized the caſtle, and from that fortreſs laid the town under contribution. A ſcene of general confuſion enſued; and the avarice of the Marattos, always reſtleſs, became more rapacious than ever. Theſe Barbarians, who had extended their uſurpations even to the gates of the place, had, for a long time, been allowed a third part of the duties, on condition that they ſhould not moleſt the inland trade. They contented themſelves with this contribution, ſo long as fortune did not throw more conſiderable advantages in their way. As ſoon as they perceived this ferment among the citizens, not doubting

that

that one of the parties might be tranſported ſo far by reſentment as to open the gates to them, they drew their forces near to the walls. The traders finding their effects daily in danger of being plundered, called the Engliſh to their aſſiſtance in 1759, and aided them in taking the citadel. The court of Delhi confirmed them in the poſſeſſion of it, and in the exerciſe of the naval command, together with the appointments annexed to both commiſſions. This revolution reſtored tranquillity to Surat; but Bombay, which was the cauſe of it, acquired an addition of credit, wealth and power.

THIS ſmall iſland, which is not more than twenty miles in circumference, was, for a long time, of little ſervice to the Engliſh. Nobody choſe to ſettle in a country, ſo unhealthy, as to give riſe to the proverb, *That at Bombay a man's life did not exceed two monſoons:* the unwholeſomeneſs of the air was attributed to the bad quality of the water, the low marſhy grounds, and to the offenſive ſmell of the fiſh uſed in manuring the roots of trees. Every poſſible remedy was uſed to remove theſe cauſes of mortality. The number of inhabitants in the colony increaſed in proportion as theſe deſtructive principles were diminiſhed: and is computed to amount at preſent to fifty thouſand Indians, born in the iſland, or induced to ſettle there by the lenity of the government. Of theſe, ſome are employed in the cultivation of rice, a greater number in that of cocoa-trees which cover the plains, and the reſt are engaged in navigation and other uſeful labours, which are continually improving.

BOMBAY was firſt conſidered in no other light than that of an excellent harbour, which, in times of peace, ſerved as a place of refreſhment for the merchant-men frequenting the Malabar coaſts; and in time of war, as a winter ſtation for the ſquadrons that government

BOOK III.

might ſend to India. This was a very valuable advantage in ſeas where there are ſo few good bays, and where the Engliſh have no other but this. The ſettlement has ſince been rendered much more uſeful. The company have made it the mart of all their trade with Malabar, Surat, and the Perſian and Arabian Gulphs. Its ſituation has invited the Engliſh merchants to reſort thither; and by their means trade is carried on with greater ſpirit. The tyranny exerciſed by the Angrias upon the continent has compelled ſome of the Banians to take refuge at Bombay, notwithſtanding the averſion theſe people, who never drink ſpirituous liquors, muſt have to live in a place where the water is ſo bad. Some rich Moors have likewiſe removed hither in conſequence of the diſturbances at Surat.

It is not to be imagined, that ſuch a number of men, who, with the advantages of induſtry and large capitals, were intent on amaſſing wealth, ſhould remain inactive. From Malabar, they furniſhed themſelves with ſhip-timber, and kayar for cordage: theſe were worked up by the Perſees from Guzarat. The ſailors of the country, under the command of European officers, have been found capable of navigating their ſhips. Surat ſupplies cargoes, partly on its own account, and partly on account of the merchants of Bombay. They ſend out annually two ſhips from Baſſora, one for Jodda, one for Mocha, and ſometimes one for China. The cargoes of all theſe ſhips are immenſely rich. Other veſſels of leſs conſequence are diſpatched from the colony itſelf.

The private ſhips of the company, are deſtined for the factories they have eſtabliſhed between Surat and Cape Comorin. The roupees of Bombay, which have been ſubſtituted inſtead of thoſe of Surat, throughout the coaſt, and in the interior parts of the country, give the

the company an advantage of five per cent. over all the nations that are their rivals. They likewiſe ſend cargoes to Baſſora, Bender-Abaſſi, and Sindi, where the ſale of their cloths is the principal object of their ſettlements. Thirteen or fourteen hundred bales are ſufficient to ſupply the conſumption. Their connections with Surat are ſtill more advantageous; this place buys of them a large quantity of iron and lead, and ſome woollen-cloths; the ſhips are freighted back from hence with manufactures to a great amount.

The ſhips ſent from Europe formerly ſailed to the ſea-port, where they were to take in their lading. They now put in at Bombay. This alteration owes its riſe to the advantage the company have of tranſporting hither all the merchandiſe of the country without expence, ſince they have been inveſted with the dignity of admiral to the great Mogul, and in conſequence of this appointment have been obliged to maintain a maritime force upon the coaſt.

The detail into which we have entered, may incline the reader to ſuppoſe that the ſituation of the Engliſh at Malabar is equal to their wiſhes. It is nevertheleſs certain that they gain no more than 2,250,000 livres (not quite 100,000*l.*) from all the ſettlements they have upon this coaſt; whereas their annual expences exceed ſix millions. (above 260,000*l.*)

If the attention of the company had not been diverted by the great ſcenes in which they have been engaged on the coaſt of Coromandel and in Bengal, it is natural to believe their affairs would be in a better ſtate at Malabar.

The fortifications at Bombay would not have been enlarged, then reduced, then extended again, and in ſhort altered a hundred different times. Had the plans been drawn by ſkilful engineers, and executed by honeſt workmen, thoſe enormous expences, which have ex-

BOOK III.

cited ſuch a general indignation, might have been avoided.

THEY would have ſent from the Ganges, or from Europe, a fund ſufficient to purchaſe ſeven or eight rich cargoes every year, inſtead of three or four very ſlender ones furniſhed by a declining and almoſt deſerted trade.

THE ſtate of weakneſs, anarchy, and war, in which the independent kingdoms of this continent, particularly towards the ſouth, are perpetually involved, would have ſuggeſted a plan conducive to the welfare of the inhabitants, and to the intereſts of the nation, by whoſe influence it would have been procured.

IN a word, the company might have obtained the iſland of Salſette, which was offered to them by the Marattos, on condition of their aſſiſting them, on a ſudden emergency, with five hundred men againſt the ſubah of the decan: and by this arrangement they would have freed themſelves from the ſhameful neceſſity they are under of depending upon theſe people for ſubſiſtence.

THE fertile iſland of Salſette, which is twenty-ſix miles in length, and eight or nine in breadth, was taken by the Marattos from the Portugueſe. Maſters of this poſt, they threatened Bombay, which is only ſeparated from it by a narrow channel fordable at low water. Now that the Engliſh have raiſed large fortifications, and placed a numerous garriſon in their colony, which is become of greater importance, an invaſion is impracticable. The Marattos themſelves are convinced of it; but they think it is in their power to ruin this ſettlement even without attacking it. This, they affirm, would eaſily be done by refuſing to furniſh it with proviſions from Salſette, and preventing its procuring them from the continent. Perſons of obſervation, who are well acquainted with the ſituation of the places, find ſomething more than probability in theſe ideas.

THE

THE truth is, that ever ſince that wrong ſtep was taken, though perhaps it was unavoidable, of putting into the hands of the Marattos, all the ports which belonged to the Angrias, thoſe barbarians are daily augmenting their marine. Their ambition will increaſe with their power; and it is impoſſible but in the long run, their claims and thoſe of the Engliſh muſt interfere.

IF we might hazard a conjecture we ſhould not ſcruple to propheſy that the company's agents will be the authors of the rupture. Beſides, that propenſity to raiſe diſturbances, which is common to all of that claſs, becauſe confuſion is favourable to their avaritious views; they are devoured with ſecret ſpleen at having no ſhare in thoſe immenſe fortunes, which are made on the Coromandel coaſt, and eſpecially in Bengal. Their avarice, jealouſy, and even their pride will incline them to repreſent the Marattos as turbulent neighbours, always intent upon the invaſion of Bombay; to magnify the facility of diſperſing theſe banditti, provided they have a proper force; to give exaggerated ideas of the advantage of plundering their mountains, filled with the treaſures of Indoſtan, which they have been accumulating during a whole century. The company, accuſtomed to conqueſt, and having no longer any urgent occaſion for their troops on the banks of the Ganges, will adopt a plan that promiſes them an acceſſion of riches, glory, and power. If thoſe who dread this ſpirit of ambition, ſhould prevail with them not to embark in this new enterprize, they will be forced into it by their ſervants; and however the event of this war may operate upon their intereſts, thoſe who involve them in it will be ſure to be gainers. There is leſs reaſon to fear a miſfortune of this kind on the coaſts of Coromandel and Orixa, which extend from Cape Comorin to the Ganges.

GEO-

BOOK III.

General trade of the coaſt of Coromandel and that of the Engliſh in particular.

GEOGRAPHERS and hiſtorians always conſider theſe as diſtinct countries inhabited by two nations, whoſe language, genius, and manners have not the leaſt reſemblance. But as the commerce carried on there is nearly the ſame, and carried on in the ſame manner; we ſhall comprehend them both under the general name of Coromandel. The two coaſts reſemble each other in other reſpects. In both of them, there reigns from the beginning of May to the end of October an exceſſive heat, which begins at nine in the morning, and continues till nine in the evening. During the night it is always allayed by a ſea-breeze, that blows from the ſouth-eaſt; and moſt commonly this refreſhing gale begins at three in the afternoon. The air is leſs inflamed, though too hot the reſt of the year. It rains almoſt continually during the months of November and December. This immenſe tract is covered with a parched ſand for the ſpace of two miles, and ſometimes only one mile.

THERE were many reaſons why this country was at firſt neglected by the Europeans who came to India. It was ſeparated by inacceſſible mountains from Malabar, where theſe bold navigators endeavoured to ſettle themſelves. Spices and aromatics, which were the principal objects of their attention were not to be found there. In ſhort, civil diſſenſions had baniſhed from it tranquillity, ſecurity and induſtry.

AT that period, the empire of Biſnagar, to which this vaſt country was ſubject, was falling to ruin. The firſt monarchs of that illuſtrious ſtate owed their power to their abilities. They headed their armies in war; in peace, they directed their councils, viſited their provinces, and adminiſtered juſtice. Proſperity corrupted them. By degrees they fell into a habit of withdrawing themſelves from the ſight of their people, and of leaving the cares of government to their generals and miniſters.

This

This conduct paved the way to their ruin. The governors of Viſapour, the Carnatic, Golconda, and Orixa, threw off their dependence, and aſſumed the title of kings. Thoſe of Madura, Tanjour, Myſore, Gingi, and ſome others, likewiſe uſurped the ſovereign authority, but retained their ancient ſtile of Naick. This great revolution had juſt happened, when the Europeans appeared upon the coaſt of Coromandel.

The foreign trade was at that time inconſiderable; it conſiſted only of diamonds from Golconda, which were carried to Calicut and Surat, and from thence to Ormus or Suez, whence they were circulated through Europe and Aſia. Maſſulipatan, the richeſt and moſt populous city in theſe countries, was the only market that was known for linens; they were purchaſed at a great fair annually holden there by the Arabian and Malayan veſſels that frequented that bay, and by caravans that arrived from diſtant parts. The linens were exported to the ſame places as the diamonds.

The fondneſs for the manufactures of Coromandel, which began to prevail here, inſpired all the European nations trading to the Indian ſeas with the reſolution of forming ſettlements there. They were not diſcouraged either by the difficulty of conveying goods from the inland parts of the country, where there was no navigable river; by the total want of harbours, where the ſea, at one ſeaſon of the year, is not navigable; by the barrenneſs of the coaſts for the moſt part uncultivated and uninhabited; nor by the tyranny and fluctuating ſtate of the government. They thought that ſilver would be induſtriouſly ſought after; that Pegu would furniſh timber for building, and Bengal corn for ſubſiſtence; that a proſperous voyage of nine months would be more than ſufficient to complete their ladings; and that, by fortifying themſelves, they ſhould be ſecure againſt the attacks

BOOK III.

attacks of the weak tyrants that oppreſſed theſe countries.

THE firſt colonies were eſtabliſhed near the ſhore. Some of them obtained a ſettlement by force: moſt of them were formed with the conſent of the ſovereigns, and all were confined to a very narrow tract of land. The boundaries of each were marked out by a hedge of thorny plants, which was their only defence. In time fortifications were raiſed; and the ſecurity derived from them added to the lenity of the government, ſoon increaſed the number of coloniſts. The ſplendor and independence of theſe ſettlements ſeveral times raiſed the jealouſy of the princes in whoſe dominions they were formed; but their attempts to demoliſh them proved abortive. Each colony increaſed in proſperity in proportion to the riches and the wiſdom of the nation that founded it.

NONE of the companies that exerciſed an excluſive privilege beyond the Cape of Good Hope had any concern in the trade of diamonds; which was always left to private merchants, and by degrees fell intirely into the hands of the Engliſh, or the Jews and Armenians that lived under their protection. At preſent this grand object of luxury and induſtry is much reduced. The revolutions that have happened in Indoſtan have prevented people from reſorting to theſe rich mines; and the anarchy into which this unhappy country is plunged, leaves no room to hope that they will be frequented again. The whole of the commercial operations on the coaſt of Coromandel is confined to the purchaſe of cottons.

THE manufacturing of the white cottons brought there, differs ſo little from that of ours, that it would be neither intereſting nor inſtructive to enter into a minute deſcription of it. The proceſs uſed in making their printed cottons, which was at firſt ſervilely followed in Europe,

Europe, has ſince been rendered more ſimple and brought to greater perfection by our manufacturers. The painted cottons, which are likewiſe bought there, we have not yet attempted to imitate. Thoſe, who imagine we have been prevented from undertaking this branch, merely by the high price of labour among us, are miſtaken. Nature has not given us the wild fruits and drugs neceſſary for the compoſition of thoſe bright and indelible colours, which conſtitute the principal merit of the Indian manufactures; nor has ſhe furniſhed us with the waters that ſerve to fix them; and which are good at Pondicherry, but excellent at Madras, Paliacate, Maſſulipatan, and Bimilipatan.

THE Indians do not univerſally obſerve the ſame method in painting their cottons; either becauſe there are ſome niceties peculiar to certain provinces, or becauſe different ſoils produce different drugs for the ſame uſes.

WE ſhould tire the patience of our readers, were we to trace the ſlow and painful progreſs of the Indians in the art of painting their cottons. It is natural to believe that they owe it to length of time, rather than to the fertility of their genius. What ſeems to authorize this conjecture is, that they have ſtopped in their career, and have not advanced a ſingle ſtep in the arts for many ages; whereas we have proceeded with amazing rapidity, and view with an emulation full of confidence, the immenſe ſpace that ſtill lies between us and the goal. Indeed, were we to conſider only the want of invention in the Indians, we ſhould be tempted to believe that from time immemorial they had received the arts they cultivate from ſome more induſtrious nation: but when it is remembered that theſe arts have a peculiar dependence on the materials, gums, colours, and productions of India, we cannot but be convinced that they are natives of that country.

BOOK III.

It may appear ſomewhat ſurprizing that cottons painted with all colours ſhould be ſold at ſo moderate a price that they are almoſt as cheap as thoſe which have only two or three. But it muſt be obſerved that the merchants of the country ſell, and to all the companies, a large quantity of cottons at a time: and that the demand for cottons painted of all colours makes but a ſmall article in their aſſortments, as they are not much eſteemed in Europe.

Though cottons of all ſorts are in ſome degree manufactured throughout the whole country of Indoſtan, which extends from Cape Comorin to the banks of the Ganges; it is obſervable, that the fine ſorts are made in the eaſtern part, the common ones in the center, and the coarſe ones in the moſt weſtern parts. Factories are eſtabliſhed in the European colonies, and upon the coaſt: they are found in greater number at the diſtance of five or ſix leagues from the ſea, where cotton is more cultivated and proviſions are cheaper. The purchaſes they make there, are carried thirty or forty leagues further into the country. The Indian merchants ſettled in our factories, have always the management of this buſineſs.

The quantity and quality of the goods that are wanted are ſettled with theſe people: the price is fixed according to the patterns: and, at the time the contract is made, a third or a fourth part of the money agreed for, is advanced. This arrangement is owing to the neceſſity theſe merchants themſelves lie under of advancing money to the workmen by their partners or agents who are diſperſed through the whole country, of keeping a watchful eye upon them for fear of loſing what they have advanced, and of gradually leſſening the ſum by calling for the cottons as faſt as they are worked off. Without theſe precautions, nothing could be depended

pended upon in an oppreſſive government, where the weaver cannot work on his own account, either becauſe his circumſtances will not permit, or becauſe he dares not venture to diſcover them for fear of exactions.

THE companies that have either ſucceſs or good management conſtantly keep a year's advance-money in their ſettlements. By this method they are ſure of having the quantity of goods they have occaſion for, and of the quality they chuſe, at the moſt convenient time: not to mention that their workmen, and their merchants, who are kept in conſtant employment, never leave them.

THOSE nations that want money and credit cannot begin their mercantile operations till the arrival of their ſhips. They have only five or ſix months, at moſt, to execute the orders ſent from Europe. The goods are manufactured and examined in haſte; and they are even obliged to take ſuch as are known to be bad, and would be rejected at any other time. The neceſſity they are under of completing their cargoes, and fitting out their veſſels before the hurricanes come on, allow no time for nicety of inſpection.

IT would be a miſtaken notion to imagine that the country agents could be prevailed upon to order goods to be made on their account, in hopes of ſelling them with a reaſonable advantage to the company in whoſe ſervice they are engaged. For beſides that the generality of them are not rich enough to embark in ſo large an undertaking, they would not be certain of finding their account in it. If the company that employ them, ſhould be hindered by unforeſeen accidents, from ſending the uſual number of ſhips, theſe merchants would have no vent for their commodities. The Indians, the form of whoſe dreſs requires different breadths and lengths from thoſe of the cottons fabricated for our uſe, would

BOOK III.

would not purchaſe them; and the other European companies would be provided, or certain of being provided with whatever the extent of their trade required, and their caſh enabled them to purchaſe. The plan of procuring loans which was contrived to remedy this inconvenience, never has been, or can be uſeful.

It has been a cuſtom, time immemorial in Indoſtan for every citizen who borrows money to give a written inſtrument to his creditor. This deed is of no force in a court of judicature, unleſs it be ſigned by three witneſſes, and bears the day of the month, and the year, when it was made, with the rate of intereſt agreed upon by the parties. If the borrower fails to fulfil his engagements, he may be arreſted by the lender himſelf. He is never impriſoned, becauſe there is no fear of his making his eſcape. He would not even eat without obtaining leave of his creditor.

The Indians make a threefold diviſion of intereſt; one of which is vice, another neither vice nor virtue, and a third virtue: this is their manner of expreſſion. The intereſt that is ſin, is four per cent. a month; the intereſt that is neither vice nor virture is two; and the intereſt that is virtue, one. The laſt is, in their opinion, an act of beneficence that only belongs to the moſt heroic minds. Yet though the Europeons, who are forced to borrow, meet with this treatment, is is plain they cannot avail themſelves of the indulgence without involving themſelves in ruin.

The foreign trade of Coromandel is not in the hands of the natives. Only in the weſtern part, indeed, there are Mohammedans, known by the name of Chalias, who, at Naour and Porto-Nuovo, ſend out ſhips to Achen, Merguy, Siam, and the eaſtern coaſt. Beſides veſſels of conſiderable burden employed in theſe voyages, they have ſmaller embarkations for the coaſting trade

for

for Ceylon, and the pearl fiſhery. The Indians of Maſſulipatan turn their attention another way. They import white callicoes from Bengal, which they dye or print, and ſell them again at the places from whence they had them, at thirty-five or forty per cent. advantage.

EXCEPTING theſe tranſactions, which are of very little conſequence, the whole trade is veſted in the Europeans who have no partners but a few Banians and Armenians ſettled in their colonies. The quantity of callicoes exported from Coromandel to the different ſea-ports in India, may be computed at three thouſand five hundred bales. Of theſe the French carry eight hundred to Malabar, Mocha, and the iſle of France; the Engliſh, twelve hundred to Bombay, Malabar, Sumatra, and the Philippine Iſlands; and the Dutch fifteen hundred to their ſeveral ſettlements. Except five hundred bales deſtined for Manilla, each of the value of 2,400 livres, (about 100 guineas.) the others are of ſo ordinary a kind that they do not exceed 720 livres (about 30 guineas.) at prime coſt: ſo that the whole number of three thouſand five hundred bales does not amount to more than 3,360,000 livres. (not quite 50,000*l.*)

COROMANDEL furniſhes Europe with nine thouſand five hundred bales; eight hundred of which are brought by the Danes; two thouſand by the Engliſh; and three thouſand two hundred by the Dutch. A conſiderable part of theſe callicoes is dyed blue, or ſtriped with red and blue for the trade of the Blacks. The others are fine muſlin, printed callicoes, and handkerchiefs from Maſſulipatam, or Paliacate. It is proved by experience, that one with another, each bale, in the nine thouſand five hundred, coſts only 960 livres, (42*l.*) conſequently they ought to bring in to the workſhop where they are manufactured 8,160,000 livres. (near 360,000*l.*)

BOOK III.

THE payments are not entirely made in ſpecie either in Europe or Aſia; we give in exchange, cloths, iron, lead, copper, coral, and ſome other articles of leſs value. On the other hand, Aſia pays with ſpices, pepper, rice, ſugar, corn, and dates. All theſe articles taken together, may amount to 4,800,000 livres. (about 210,000*l.*) From this calculation it follows, that Coromandel receives 6,720,000 livres (near 300,000*l.*) in money.

THE Engliſh, who have acquired the ſame ſuperiority upon this coaſt that they have gained elſewhere, have formed on it ſeveral ſettlements. In 1757, they took poſſeſſion of Madura, a conſiderable town, and tolerably well fortified: but they did not fix there with any commercial views. The cottons calculated for the eaſtern part of Aſia, and for Africa, which are manufactured in the kingdom belonging to this capital, are, for the moſt part, carried to the Dutch factories on the coaſt of the pearl fiſhery. The only uſe the Engliſh make of this acquiſition is to raiſe from it a revenue ſufficient to overbalance the expences that are unavoidably incurred there.

TRICHINOPOLY, though totally deſtroyed by the cruel wars it has ſuſtained, is of much more importance to them. This ſtrong poſt is the key of Tanjour, Myſore, and Madura, and gives them great influence in thoſe three ſtates.

IT was ſolely with the view of ſecuring an eaſy communication with this celebrated fortreſs, that they took poſſeſſion of Devi-Cottah in 1749, whoſe territory is no more than three miles in circumference. There is no kind of manufacture carried on, either upon the ſpot, or in the neighbourhood, the only produce being ſome wood and a little rice. The defence of this factory coſts about 40,000 livres; (42*l.*) an expence that takes away the whole profits of it. It would, notwithſtanding, be

£1750

poſt of importance, if what has been advanced by ſome intelligent men be true, that the Coleroon might, at an eaſy expence, be put into a condition to receive the largeſt veſſels. The coaſt of Coromandel would not then be without harbours; and the nation, maſters of the only port in thoſe parts, would have a powerful means of improving their commerce, which their rivals would be deprived of.

In 1686, the Engliſh purchaſed Cudalore, with a territory extending eight miles along the coaſt, and four miles into the interior part of the country. This acquiſition, which they obtained of an Indian prince for the ſum of 742,500 livres, (about 1,800*l.*) was confirmed to them by the Moguls, who ſoon after made themſelves maſters of the Carnatic. Conſidering afterwards, that the fortreſs, which they found ready built, was more than a mile from the ſea, and that the reinforcements deſtined for it might be intercepted; they built fort St. David within cannon-ſhot of it, at the mouth of a river, and on the verge of the Indian Ocean. Since that three aldeés have been erected, which, with the town and fortreſs, are computed to contain ſixty thouſand ſouls. Their employment is dying blue, or printing the cottons that come from the inland parts of the country, and in manufacturing the fineſt dimities in the world, to the amount of 1,500,000 livres. (about 32,000*l.*) The plundering of this ſettlement by the French in 1758, and the demoliſhing of its fortifications, have done it no laſting injury. Its ſpirit ſeems rather increaſed, though St. David has not been rebuilt, and Cudalore is only put into a condition of making a tolerable reſiſtance. A revenue of 144,000 livres (about 6,300*l.*) defrays all the expences of this colony. Maſſulipatan affords advantages of another kind.

£32404:9:4

£64,000

This town, which paſſed from the hands of the

BOOK III.

French into those of the English in 1759, is by no means what it was when the Europeans, at the conclusion of the fifteenth century, doubled the Cape of Good Hope. There are but a few cottons made or sold there, which, notwithstanding their beauty, cannot furnish any considerable branch of export. Accordingly the new possessors consider their conquest not so much as a market for buying and selling large quantities of goods. By means of the caravans which come from very distant places to furnish themselves with salt; and by the intercourse they have formed with the inland parts of the country, they have managed to establish a demand for their cloths in the most remote countries of the Decan, and this trade is likely to flourish still more. To this may be added the farther advantage of drawing a revenue from the product of the salt, and that of the customs, amounting to 1,320,000 livres, (near 58,000*l.*) of which 600,000 livres (little more than 26,000*l.*) only are annually expended upon the settlement.

VIZACAPATAN is a small town, with little territory belonging to it, and not four thousand inhabitants. Being situated between Masulipatan and Ganjam, it is the receptacle of the fine cottons that are made in that part of Orixa, amounting to five or six hundred bales, which cost 480,000 livres. (about 21,000*l.*)

THE merchandise produced from all these places and from a few subordinate factories that vary according to circumstances, is carried to Madrass which is the centre of all the English transactions on the coast of Coromandel.

THIS town was built a hundred years ago by William Langhorne, in the country of Arcot, and by the sea side. As he placed it in the midst of a sandy tract, altogether dry, and where there was no water fit for drinking, but what was fetched from the distance of

more

more than a mile; people were curious to know what reaſons could have determined him to make ſo bad a choice. His friends pretended that his view was to draw thither all the trade of St. Thomas, which has actually been the conſequence, while his enemies imputed it to a deſire of continuing in the neighbourhood of a miſtreſs he had in that Portugueſe colony. This ſettlement has increaſed ſo much ſince its firſt eſtabliſhment, that it has been divided into three diſtricts. The firſt of theſe, known in Europe by the name of Fort St. George, and in India by that of the White Town, is occupied by four or five hundred Engliſh, men, women, and children. It is defended only by a ſlight wall, and four ill-conſtructed baſtions. To the north lies the Black Town, which is larger, and ſtill worſe fortified; and is the quarter where the Jews, Armenians, Moors, and the richeſt Indians reſide. Beyond this are the ſuburbs which are entirely defenceleſs, and full of inhabitants. The three diviſions, of which the place is compoſed; two aldees, which lie at a ſmall diſtance from it, and the whole territory, which is not more than fifteen miles in circumference; contain two hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, almoſt all of them natives of India.

AMONG this vaſt number, there are but few weavers. Fifteen thouſand artiſts are employed in printing and painting the fine callicoes that are worn in Europe; and a conſiderable quantity of common cottons deſtined for the different ſea-ports of Aſia, particularly for the Philippine iſlands. There are, perhaps, forty thouſand people occupied in arranging and ſelling coral and glaſs-ware, with which the women in the interior parts of the country adorn their hair, or make necklaces and bracelets. Other branches of induſtry, inſeparable from a large mart, employ a great number of hands. The inhabitants who have deſervedly gained the confi-

BOOK III.

dence of the company, travel through Arcot and the neighbouring country, to buy what goods they have occaſion for. The moſt conſiderable among them lend money to the Engliſh merchants, who though not of the company, have liberty to traffic in the different ſeaports of Aſia; they enter into partnerſhip with them, or embark on their veſſels goods for their own private account. The buſineſs carried on by the company and the private merchants taken together, has made Madraſs one of the moſt opulent and important places in India.

Besides the profits accruing to the Engliſh from the cottons they purchaſe in this town, and from the cloths and other merchandiſe they vend there, the cuſtoms, the duties upon tobacco and betel, and ſome other imports, bring in a revenue of 1,200,000 livres. (about 52,000l. ſterling.) The continuation of theſe advantages is ſecured by a garriſon of a thouſand Europeans, and of fifteen or eighteen hundred ſipahis.

Such is the ſituation of the Engliſh company on the coaſt of Coromandel, conſidered merely as a mercantile body. Let us now examine it in a political light.

In 1751, the Engliſh undertook to make Mohammed-Ali-Khan nabob of Arcot. The execution of this great plan was attended with innumerable difficulties, which were at length ſurmounted after a ſeries of battles, defeats, victories and negotiations, that laſted ſeveral years. The new ſovereign, who had ſtill many enemies remaining, committed the ſafety of his perſon to the care of his protectors, by fixing his reſidence at Madraſs; and placed his provinces under the cover of their arms, leaving to them the ſole charge of defending them. To enable them to ſupport the burden they had undertaken, and to reimburſe them for the money they had advanced, it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould

enjoy

enjoy the revenues of the country, which in times of the greateſt proſperity were 12,000,000 livres, (525,000*l.*) and are ſtill at leaſt 8,400,000. (near 368,000*l.*) It is true we ought previouſly to deduct 2,880,000 (126,000*l.*) for public expences, and as much more for the maintenance of the Nabob; but there ſtill remains 2,640,000 livres, (116,000*l.*) clear income to the company. By this management, they keep the Carnatic, that is the moſt induſtrious country in this immenſe tract in a ſtate of abſolute dependence.

To ſtrengthen their influence ſtill more on theſe coaſts the Engliſh had long meditated a plan of making a large acquiſition of territory in the neighbourhood of Maſſulipatan. In 1767 they ſucceeded ſo far as to procure, from the ſubah of Decan, the ceſſion of the provinces of Candavir, Elur, Montaſanagar, Rajamandry and Chicacol. From this prodigious acceſſion of revenue and territory, they had begun to think that they had nothing more to do than to enjoy the advantages of their ſituation; when they ſaw a ſtorm gathering which threatened to ſhake, if not to deſtroy their proſperity.

Hyder-Ali-Khan, a ſoldier of fortune, who had learned the art of war from the Europeans, had made great conqueſts, and rendered himſelf maſter of Myſore. Relying upon his ſtrength and his reputation, he ſummoned the ſubah of the Decan, and the nabob of the Carnatic to join with him in driving the Engliſh out of Coromandel, threatening, if they refuſed, to ravage all their provinces. The company thought both their credit and intereſt concerned to anticipate the deſigns of an enemy who announced his reſentment and projects in ſo high a ſtrain, and they ſent out an army againſt him in March 1767.

Colonel Wood who had the command of it marched forward with confidence; when, to his great

BOOK III.

aſtoniſhment he beheld, in front, an army punctually paid, and excellently well diſciplined, conſiſting of thirty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, with a conſiderable train of artillery. The war was carried on by contrivances, a circumſtance very deſireable to Hyder, whoſe genius was ſubtle and fruitful in ſtratagems. He found means to ſurprize his enemies in their camp, carry off their proviſions and baggage, ſeized their beſt poſts by procuring the moſt exact intelligence, drove their troops before him, vanquiſhed, diſheartened, and almoſt ready to revolt for want of pay; and at laſt alarmed them with the apprehenſion of ſeeing their capital beſieged, plundered and deſtroyed. The panic was becoming univerſal, when ſome timely ſuccours arrived, which enabled the Engliſh general to regain his ground. On the 4th of October 1768, he found means to compel the Indians to a general engagement, which they had hitherto ſeemed deſirous to avoid. This was, perhaps, the moſt obſtinate and bloody engagement that had ever happened in this part of the world. At laſt, Wood remained maſter of the field where both ſides had fought ſo bravely: but this was all the advantage he gained by his victory.

Hyder, though defeated, kept up a menacing countenance, and was ſtill formidable. Terms of accommodation were propoſed to him. He liſtened to them with no ſmall indifference; and it was not without much negotiation, nor, if ſome accounts may be believed, without conſiderable preſents, that he was prevailed upon to conclude a peace after having carried on the war for two years. This prince continues to be conſidered by the Engliſh rather as an enemy, againſt whom it is neceſſary they ſhould be conſtantly on their guard, than as an ally on whom they might depend. Some of the moſt judicious among them are even of opinion, that unleſs

their

their nation by ſome means or other gets rid of a neighbour too ambitious, and too active for its repoſe, it cannot ſecurely rely on the power which a combination of fortunate circumſtances has given it on the coaſt of Coromandel. Let us take a view of its ſituation in Bengal.

General trade of Bengal, and that of the Engliſh in particular.

BENGAL is a vaſt country of Aſia, bounded by the kingdom of Aſham and Aracan on the eaſt; by ſeveral provinces belonging to the Great Mogul on the weſt; by frightful rocks on the north, and by the ſea on the ſouth. It extends on both ſides the Ganges, which riſes from different ſources in Thibet, and after ſeveral windings through Caucaſus, penetrates into India acroſs the mountains on its frontier. This river, after having formed it its courſe a great number of large, fertile, and well peopled iſlands diſcharges itſelf into the ſea by ſeveral mouths, of which only two are known and frequented.

TOWARDS the ſource of this river, was formerly a city called Palibothra. Its antiquity was ſo great, that Diodorus Siculus makes no ſcruple of aſſuring us that it was built by that Hercules to whom the Greeks aſcribed all the great and ſurprizing actions that had been performed in the world. In Pliny's time, its opulence was celebrated through the whole univerſe; and it was looked upon as the general mart for the people inhabiting both ſides of the river that waſhed its walls.

THE hiſtory of the revolutions that have happened in Bengal, is intermixed with ſo many fables that it does not deſerve our attention. All we can with certainty diſcover is, that the extent of this empire has been ſometimes greater and ſometimes leſs; that it has had fortunate and unfortunate periods; and that it has alternately been formed into one ſingle kingdom, or divided into ſeveral independent ſtates. It was under the dominion

of

BOOK III.

of one maſter, when a more powerful tyrant Egbar, grandfather of Aurengzebe, undertook the conqueſt of it; which was begun in 1590, and completed in 1595. Since this æra Bengal has always acknowledged the Mogul for its ſovereign. At firſt, the governor to whom the adminiſtration of it was entruſted, held his court at Raja-mahul, but afterwards removed it to Dacca. Ever ſince the year 1718, it has been fixed at Muxadavad, a large inland town two leagues diſtant from Caſſumbazar. There are ſeveral Nabobs and Rajas ſubordinate to this viceroy, who is called ſubah.

THIS important poſt was occupied for a long time by the ſons of the Great Mogul: but they ſo frequently miſ-employed the forces and treaſure under their command, to raiſe diſturbances in the empire, that it was thought proper to commit that province to men who had leſs influence, and were more dependent. True it is, the new governors gave no alarm to the court of Delhi; but they were far from being punctual in remitting the tribute they collected to the royal treaſury. Theſe abuſes gained farther ground after the expedition of Kouli Khan; and matters were carried ſo far, that the emperor, who was unable to pay the Marattas what he owed them, authoriſed them, in 1740, to collect it in Bengal themſelves. Theſe banditti, to the number of two hundred thouſand, divided themſelves into three armies, ravaged this fine country for ten years together, and did not leave it till they had extorted immenſe ſums.

DURING all theſe commotions, deſpotic government, which unhappily prevails all over India, maintained its influence in Bengal: but, at the ſame time, a ſmall diſtrict that had hitherto preſerved its independence, ſtill continues to preſerve it. This fortunate ſpot, which extends about a hundred and ſixty miles, is called Biſſenpour. It has been governed time immemorial, by a Bra-

min

min family of the tribe of the Rajahputs. Here the purity and equity of the ancient political ſyſtem of the Indians is found unadulterated. This ſingular government, the fineſt and moſt ſtriking monument in the world has, till now, been beheld with too much indifference. We have no remains of ancient nations but braſs and marble, which ſpeak only to imagination and conjecture, thoſe uncertain interpreters of manners and cuſtoms that no longer exiſt. Were a philoſopher tranſported to Biſſenpour, he would inſtantly be a witneſs of the life led by the firſt inhabitants of India many thouſand years ago; he would converſe with them; he would trace the progreſs of this nation celebrated as it were from its very infancy; he would ſee the riſe of a government, which being founded in happy prejudices, in a ſimplicity and purity of manners, in the mild temper of the people, and the integrity of the chieftains, has ſurvived thoſe innumerable ſyſtems of legiſlation, which have made only a tranſitory appearance upon the ſtage of the world, with the generations they were deſtined to torment. More ſolid and durable than thoſe political ſtructures, which raiſed by impoſture and enthuſiaſm, are the ſcourges of human kind, and are doomed to periſh with the fooliſh opinions that gave them birth, the government of Biſſenpour, the offspring of a juſt attention to order, and the laws of nature, has been eſtabliſhed and maintained upon unchangeable principles, and has undergone no more alteration than thoſe principles themſelves. The ſingular ſituation of this country has preſerved to the inhabitants their primitive happineſs and the gentleneſs of their character, by ſecuring them from the danger of being conquered, or of imbruing their hands in the blood of their fellow-creatures. Nature has ſurrounded them with water; and they need only open the ſluices of their rivers to overflow the whole country. The

armies

BOOK III.

armies ſent to ſubdue them have ſo frequently been drowned, that the plan of enſlaving them has been laid aſide; and the projectors of it have thought proper to content themſelves with an appearance of ſubmiſſion.

LIBERTY and property are ſacred in Biſſenpour. Robbery, either public or private, is never heard of. As ſoon as any ſtranger enters the territory he engages the attention of the laws, which provide for his ſecurity. He is furniſhed with guides at free coſt, who conduct him from place to place, and are anſwerable for his perſon and effects. When he changes his conductors, the new ones deliver to thoſe they relieve an atteſtation of their conduct, which is regiſtered and afterwards ſent to the Raja. All the time he remains in the country he is maintained, and conveyed with his merchandiſe, at the expence of the ſtate, unleſs he deſires leave to ſtay longer than three days in the ſame place. In that caſe he is obliged to defray his own expences, unleſs he is detained by any diſorder, or other unavoidable accident. This beneficence to ſtrangers is the conſequence of the warmth with which the citizens enter into each other's intereſts. They are ſo far from being guilty of an injury to each other, that whoever finds a purſe, or other thing of value, hangs it upon the firſt tree he meets with, and informs the neareſt guard, who give notice of it to the public by beat of drum. Theſe maxims of probity are ſo generally received, that they direct even the operations of government. Out of between ſeven and eight millions (about 330,000*l.* on an average.) it annually receives, without injury to agriculture or trade, what is not wanted to ſupply the unavoidable expences of the ſtate, is laid out in improvements. The Raja is enabled to engage in theſe humane employments as he pays the Moguls only what tribute, and at what times, he thinks proper.

THOUGH

THOUGH the reſt of Bengal is far from enjoying the ſame happineſs, it is, nevertheleſs, the richeſt and moſt populous province in the whole empire. Beſides its own conſumption, which is neceſſarily conſiderable, its exports are immenſe. One part of its merchandiſe is carried into the inland country. Thibet takes off a quantity of its cottons, beſides ſome iron and cloths of European production. The inhabitants of thoſe mountains fetch them from Patna themſelves, and give muſk and rhubarb in exchange.

THE rhubarb, which begins to be cultivated with ſucceſs in the highlands of Scotland, is not, as is commonly believed, a creeping plant; but grows in tufts at ſome diſtance from each other. There is no occaſion to ſow it, as the ſeed naturally falls to the ground, and produces a new plant.

THE muſk is a production peculiar to Thibet. It is contained in a ſmall bag of the ſize of a hen's egg, which grows in the ſhape of a bladder under the belly of a ſpecies of goat, between the navel and the genitals. In its original ſtate it is nothing more than putrid blood which coagulates in this bag. The largeſt bladder yields no more than half an ounce of muſk. The ſmell of it is naturally ſo ſtrong, that, for common uſe, it is neceſſary to moderate it by mixing it with milder perfumes. The hunters, with a view of increaſing their profits, contrived to take away part of the muſk from the bladders, and to fill the vacuity with the liver and coagulated blood of the animal minced together. The government, to put a ſtop to theſe fraudulent mixtures, ordered, that all the bladders, before they were ſewed up, ſhould be examined by inſpectors, who ſhould cloſe them with their own hands, and ſeal them with the royal ſignet. This precaution has put a ſtop to the frauds practiſed to reduce the quality of the muſk, but not to

thoſe

BOOK III.

thoſe which are calculated to increaſe the weight of it; they contrive to open the bags artfully and pour particles of lead into them.

THE trade of Thibet is nothing in compariſon of that which Bengal carries on with Agra, Delhi, and the provinces adjacent to thoſe ſuperb capitals, in ſalt, ſugar, opium, ſilk, ſilk-ſtuffs, and an infinite quantity of cottons, particularly muſlins. Theſe articles, taken together, amounted formerly to more than forty millions a-year. (1,750,000*l.*) So conſiderable a ſum did not reach the banks of the Ganges; but it was the means of retaining a ſum nearly equal, which muſt have gone from thence to pay the duties or for other purpoſes. Since the viceroys of the Mogul have made themſelves in a manner independent, and ſend him no revenues but ſuch as they chuſe to allow him, the luxury of the court is greatly abated, and the branch of exportation we have been ſpeaking of, is no longer ſo conſiderable.

THE maritime trade of Bengal managed by the natives of the country, has not ſuffered the ſame diminution, nor was it ever ſo extenſive, as the other. It may be divided into two branches, of which Catek is in poſſeſſion of the greater part.

CATEK is a diſtrict of ſome extent, a little below the moſt weſtern mouth of the Ganges. Balaſore, ſituated upon a navigable river, ſerves it for a port. The navigation to the Maldives, which the Engliſh and French have been obliged to abandon on account of the intemperature of the climate, is carried on entirely from this road. Here they load their veſſels with rice, coarſe cottons, and ſome ſilk-ſtuffs for theſe iſlands, and receive cowries in exchange, which ſerves for money in Bengal, and are ſold to the Europeans.

THE inhabitants of Catek, and ſome other people of Lower Ganges, maintain a conſiderable correſpondence with

with the country of Aſham. This kingdom, which is thought to have formely made a part of Bengal, and is only divided from it by a river that falls into the Ganges, deſerves to be better known, if what is aſſerted is true, that the invention of gunpowder is to be attributed to it, and that it was communicated from Aſham to Pegu, and from Pegu to China. Its gold, ſilver, iron and lead mines would have added to its renown if they had been properly worked. In the midſt of theſe riches it makes ſo little uſe of, it is in the moſt preſſing neceſſity for want of ſalt, being obliged to have recourſe to the expedient of procuring it from a decoction of certain plants.

In the beginning of the preſent century, ſome Bramins of Bengal carried their ſuperſtitions to Aſham, where the people were ſo happy as to be guided ſolely by the dictates of natural religion. The prieſts perſuaded them, that it would be more agreeable to Brama if they ſubſtitured the pure and wholeſome ſalt of the ſea than that which they uſed in lieu of it. The ſovereign conſented to receive it on condition that the excluſive trade ſhould be in his hands; that it ſhould be brought by the people of Bengal alone, and that the boats laden with it, ſhould ſtop at the frontiers of his dominions. Thus have all theſe coined religions been introduced by the intereſt and for the intereſt of the prieſts who preach, and the kings who receive them. Since this arrangement has taken place, forty veſſels from five to ſix hundred tons burden each are annually ſent from the Ganges to Aſham laden with ſalt, which yields two hundred per cent. profit. They receive in payment a ſmall quantity of gold and ſilver, ivory, muſk, eagle wood, gum-lac, and a large quantity of ſilk.

This ſilk, which is ſingular in its kind, requires no trouble; it is found on the trees where the ſilkworms

are

BOOK III.

are produced, nouriſhed, and undergo their ſeveral metamorphoſes. The inhabitants have no other trouble but that of collecting it. The neglected cods produce a new generation; during the growth of which, the tree puts forth new leaves, which ſerve ſucceſſively for the nouriſhment of the young worms. Theſe revolutions are repeated twelve times in a year; but do not turn to ſo good account in the rainy as in the dry ſeaſons. The ſtuffs made of this ſilk have a great deal of luſtre, but do not laſt long.

EXCEPTING theſe two branches of maritime trade, which, for particular reaſons, have been confined to the natives of the country, all the reſt of the veſſels ſent from the Ganges to the different ſea ports of India belong to the Europeans, and are built at Pegu.

PEGU is a country ſituated on the Gulph of Bengal, between the kingdoms of Aracan and Siam. Revolutions, which are ſo frequent in all the deſpotic empires of Aſia, have been here more frequently repeated than in any other. It has alternately been the centre of a great power, and a province to ſeveral ſtates leſs extenſive than itſelf. It is at preſent dependent upon Ava.

THE only port of Pegu that is open to ſtrangers is Syriam. The Portugueſe, during their proſperity, were long in poſſeſſion of it, and it was then in great repute. At preſent it is hardly frequented but by the Europeans ſettled on the coaſt of Coromandel and Bengal. The latter can only ſell there ſome coarſe cottons, nor would they viſit it at all, except for the building, or refitting of their ſhips; for which purpoſe they are furniſhed with all neceſſary materials (except iron and cordage) of an excellent quality, and at a moderate price. Since the diſguſt taken at the high rate of ſhip-building at Surat, Syriam is become a kind of general dock-yard for all veſſels employed in the country trade.

THEIR

THEIR exports conſiſt of teak timber, wax, ivory, ſome calm, and an excellent oil for the preſervation of ſhips. The fineſt topazes, ſapphires, amethyſts, and rubies, in the world, come from Pegu. They are ſeldom to be met with at Syriam, nor can they be had without reſorting to the court, which is kept at Ava. The Armenians have for ſome time had ſuch an aſcendent, that they make the trade difficult to the Europeans, and even to the Engliſh, who are the only people that have formed a ſettlement at Pegu.

A STILL more conſiderable branch of commerce, which the Europeans at Bengal carry on with the reſt of India, is that of opium. Opium is the produce of a ſpecies of poppy, whoſe root is nearly as large as the finger, abounding, as well as the reſt of the plant, with a bitter juice. The ſtem, which is commonly pliable, and ſometimes rather hairy, is two cubits high, and produces leaves reſembling thoſe of the lettuce, oblong, indented, curled, and of a ſea-green colour. Its flower is in the form of a roſe. When the poppy is full of ſap, a ſlight inciſion is made at the top, from whence diſtill ſome drops of a milky liquor, which is left to congeal, and is afterwards gathered. This operation is repeated three times, but the produce gradually diminiſhes in quantity, nor is it of ſo good a quality. When the opium is gathered, it is moiſtened and kneaded with water or honey, till it acquires the conſiſtence, viſcidity, and gloſſineſs of pitch when it is well prepared, and is then made into ſmall cakes. That which is rather ſoft, and yields to the touch, is inflammable, of a brown blackiſh colour, and has a ſtrong fœtid ſmell, is eſteemed the beſt; on the contrary, that which is dry, friable, burnt, and mixed with earth and ſand, is thought good for nothing. According to the different manner of preparing it, and the doſes in

BOOK III.

which it is given, it ſtupifies, excites agreeable ideas, or occaſions madneſs.

PATNA, ſituated on the Upper Ganges, is the moſt celebrated place in the world for the cultivation of opium. The fields are covered with it. Beſides what is carried into the inland parts, there are annually three or four thouſand cheſts exported, each weighing three hundred pounds. It ſells upon the ſpot at the rate of five or ſix hundred livres (between 24l. and 25l. on an average) a cheſt. This opium is not purified like that of Syria and Perſia, which we make uſe of in Europe: it is only a paſte that has undergone no preparation, and has not a tenth part of the virtue of purified opium.

AN exceſſive fondneſs for opium prevails in all the countries to the eaſt of India. The Chineſe emperors have ſuppreſſed it in their dominions, by condemning to the flames every veſſel that imported this ſpecies of poiſon, and every houſe that received it. On the Malayan coaſt, at Borneo, the Moluccas, Java, Macaſſar, and Sumatra, the conſumption is incredible. Theſe people ſmoke it with their tobacco. Thoſe who are going to perform ſome deſperate action intoxicate themſelves with this ſmoke. They then encounter indiſcriminately every thing they meet. The Dutch, who are in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the places where opium makes the greateſt havock, have been more intent on the profits ariſing from the ſale of this article than touched with compaſſion for its numerous victims. Rather than prohibit the uſe of it, they have authoriſed individuals to maſſacre all thoſe who, being diſordered with opium, appears in the ſtreets armed.

THE Dutch company formerly carried on the trade of opium in their ſettlements. They vended but little, becauſe four hundred per cent. was gained by ſmug-

ſmuggling it. In 1743, they reſigned this branch to a particular ſociety, to which they deliver a certain quantity of opium at a fixed price. The gains of this ſociety, which conſiſt of the principal members of the government of Batavia, are immenſe: no one venturing to expoſe himſelf to their reſentment by purſuing a contraband trade incompatible with their intereſts. The coaſt of Malacca, and part of the iſland of Sumatra, are furniſhed with opium by the free Engliſh merchants, who gain more by this merchandiſe than by the common cottons they bring to theſe different markets.

They ſend rice and ſugar to the coaſt of Coromandel, for which they are paid in ſpecie, unleſs they have the good fortune to meet with ſome foreign merchandiſe at a cheap rate. They ſend out one or two veſſels laden with rice, cottons and ſilk: the rice is ſold in Ceylon, the cottons at Malabar, and the ſilk at Surat; from whence they bring back cotton, which is uſefully employed in the coarſer manufactures of Bengal. Two or three ſhips laden with rice, gum-lac, and cotton ſtuffs go to Baſſora, and return with dried fruits, roſe-water and a quantity of gold. The rich merchandiſe carried to Arabia is paid for entirely in gold and ſilver. The trade of the Ganges with the other ſeaports of India brings twenty-eight millions (1,255,000*l.*) annually into Bengal.

Though this trade paſſes through the hands of the Europeans, and is carried on in their bottoms, it is not entirely on their own account. The Moguls, indeed, who are commonly confined to the places of their government, have ſeldom any concern in theſe expeditions; but the Armenians, who, ſince the revolutions in Perſia, are ſettled upon the banks of the Ganges, to which they formerly only made voyages, readily throw

BOOK III.

their capital into this trade. The Indians employ ſtill larger ſums in it. The impoſſibility of enjoying their fortunes under an oppreſſive government, does not deter the natives of this country from labouring inceſſantly to increaſe them. As they would run too great a riſque by engaging openly in trade, they are obliged to have recourſe to clandeſtine methods. As ſoon as an European arrives, the Gentoos, who know mankind better than is commonly ſuppoſed, ſtudy his character: and if they find him frugal, active, and well informed, offer to act as his brokers and caſhiers, and lend or procure him money upon bottomry, or at intereſt. This intereſt, which is uſually nine per cent. at leaſt, is higher, when he is under a neceſſity of borrowing of the Cheyks.

THESE Cheyks are a powerful family of Indians, who have, time immemorial, inhabited the banks of the Ganges. Their riches have long ago procured them the management of the bank belonging to the court, the farming of the public revenue, and the direction of the money, which they coin afreſh every year, in order to receive annually the benefit ariſing from the mint. By uniting ſo many advantages, they are enabled to lend the government, forty, (1,750,000*l.*) ſixty, (2,625,000*l.*) or even a hundred millions (4,375,000*l.*) at a time. When the government finds it impoſſible to refund the money, they are allowed to indemnify themſelves by oppreſſing the people. That ſo prodigious a capital ſhould be preſerved in the center of tyranny, and in the midſt of revolutions, appears incredible. It is not poſſible to conceive how ſuch a ſtructure could be raiſed, much leſs how it could be ſupported for ſo long a time. To explain this myſtery it muſt be obſerved, that this family has always maintained a ſuperior influence at the court of Delhi; that

that the nabobs and rajas in Bengal are dependent upon it; that thoſe who are about the perſon of the ſubah have conſtantly been his creatures; and that the ſubah himſelf has been maintained, or dethroned by the intrigues of this family. To this we may add, that the different branches of it, and the wealth belonging to them being diſperſed, it has never been poſſible to ruin above one half of it at a time, which would ſtill have left them more reſources than were neceſſary to enable them to carry on their reſentment to the higheſt extremity. The Europeans who frequent the Ganges have not been ſufficiently alarmed at this deſpotiſm, which ought to have prevented them from ſubmitting to a dependence upon the Cheyks. They have fallen into the ſnare, by borrowing conſiderable ſums of theſe avaritious financiers, apparently at nine, but in reality at thirteen per cent. if we take into the account the difference between the money that is lent them, and that in which they are obliged to make their payments. The engagements entered into by the French and Dutch companies have been kept within ſome bounds; but thoſe of the Engliſh company have been unlimited. In 1755 they were indebted to the Cheyks about eight and twenty millions (1,225,000*l.*)

SUCH is the conduct of theſe great bodies, who are the ſole managers of the European trade at Bengal. The Portugueſe, who firſt frequented this rich country, had the wiſdom to eſtabliſh themſelves at Chitigan, a port ſituated upon the frontier of Arracon, not far from the moſt eaſtern branch of the Ganges. The Dutch, who, without incurring the reſentment of an enemy, at that time ſo formidable, were deſirous of ſharing in their good fortune, looked out for a port, which, without obſtructing their plan, would expoſe them the leaſt to hoſtilities. In 1603, they caſt their eyes upon Bala-

BOOK III.

fore; and all the companies, rather through imitation than in conſequence of any well-concerted ſchemes, followed their example. Experience taught them the propriety of fixing as near as poſſible to the markets from whence they had their merchandiſe; and they advanced up that arm of the Ganges, which ſeparating itſelf from the main river at Mourcha above Caſſumbazar, falls into the ſea near Balaſore under the name of the river Hughley. The government of the country permitted them to erect warehouſes wherever there was plenty of manufactures, and to fortify themſelves upon this river.

In paſſing up this river, the firſt town that is met with is Calcutta, the principal ſettlement of the Engliſh company. The air here is unhealthy, the water brackiſh, the anchorage not very ſafe, and the neighbouring country affords but few manufactures. Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniencies, great numbers of rich Armenian, Mooriſh, and Indian merchants invited by the proſpect of liberty and ſecurity have fixed their reſidence here. The people have multiplied in proportion through a territory of three or four leagues in circumference, of which the company are the ſole ſovereigns. The fortreſs has this advantage, that the veſſels bound to the European ſettlements are obliged to paſs under its cannon.

Six leagues higher is ſituated Frederic Nagore founded by the Danes in 1756, in order to ſupply the place of an ancient ſettlement, where they could not maintain their ground. This new eſtabliſhment has not yet acquired any ſolidity, and there is all the reaſon imaginable to believe, that it will never become conſiderable.

Chandernagore, which lies two leagues and an half higher, belongs to the French. It has the diſadvantage

vantage of being rather expoſed on the weſtern ſide; but its harbour is excellent, and the air is as pure as it can be on the banks of the Ganges. Whenever any building is undertaken that requires ſtrength, it muſt here, as well as in all other parts of Bengal, be built upon piles: it being impoſſible to dig three or four feet deep without coming at water. This diſtrict, which is hardly a league in circumference, has been full of manufactures ever ſince the invaſion of the Marattas obliged the natives of the country to retire hither for refuge. Here is a large manufacture of handkerchiefs, and ſtriped muſlins; which have, indeed, rather degenerated ſince their removal. This active ſpirit of induſtry has not, however, made Chandernagore the rival of Calcutta, whoſe immenſe riches enables it to undertake the moſt extenſive commercial enterprizes.

At the diſtance of a mile from Chandernagore, is Chinſura, better known by the name of Dougli, being ſituated near the ſuburbs of that anciently renowned city. The Dutch have no other poſſeſſions there, but merely their fort; the territory round it depending on the government of the country, which hath frequently made it feel its power by its extortions. Another inconvenience attending this ſettlement is a ſand bank that prevents ſhips from coming up to it: they proceed no farther than Tulta, which is twenty miles below Calcutta, and this of courſe occaſions an additional expence to adminiſtration.

The Portugueſe had formerly made Bandel, which is eighty leagues from the mouth of the Ganges, and a quarter of a league above the Hughley, the principal ſeat of their commerce. Their flag is ſtill diſplayed, and there are a few unhappy wretches remaining there who have forgotten their country after having been forgotten by it. This factory has no other employ-

BOOK III.

ment than that of ſupplying the Moors and the Dutch with miſtreſſes.

THOUGH in the months of October, November, and December, the frequent and almoſt continual hurricanes render the Gulph of Bengal impracticable; during the remainder of the year European ſhips may enter the Ganges. Thoſe that deſign to go up the river previouſly make the Segogora, where they are received by pilots of their own nation, who reſide at Balaſore. The money they bring with them is put on board certain ſloops belonging to the harbour of between ſixty and a hundred tuns, which always precede the ſhips. The paſſage into the river Hughley lies through a narrow ſtrait between two ſand banks. The ſhips uſed formerly to come to an anchor at Culpy, but time has worn off the dread of thoſe currents, quickſands, and ſhoals that ſeemed to choke up the navigation of the river, and the ſhips have been brought unto their reſpective places of deſtination. This boldneſs has occaſioned many ſhipwrecks; but in proportion as more experience has been gained, and the ſpirit of obſervation has been carried further, accidents of that kind have been leſs frequent. It is to be hoped that the example of admiral Watſon, who ſailed as high as Chandernagore in a ſeventy gun-ſhip will not be forgotten: as a proper attention to it would ſave a great deal of time, trouble and expence.

BESIDES this great channel, there is another by which goods may be brought from the places which furniſh them to the principal ſettlement of each company. For this purpoſe a number of ſmall craft are employed, conſiſting of eighty or a hundred boats, and ſometimes more. Theſe are manned with black or white ſoldiers in order to check the inſatiable avarice of the Nabobs and Rajas they meet with in their paſſage.

ſage. The goods purchaſed in the higher parts of the Ganges, at Patna and Caſſumbazar, are carried down the river Hughley: thoſe purchaſed near the other branches of the Ganges, which are all navigable in the interior parts of the country, and communicate with each other, eſpecially towards the lower diviſion of that river, are conveyed into the Hughley by Rangafoula and Batatola, about fifteen or twenty leagues from the ſea. From thence they are carried up the ſtream to the principal ſettlement belonging to each nation.

THE exports from Bengal to Europe conſiſt of muſk, gum lac, nicaragua wood, pepper, cowries, and ſome other articles of leſs importance brought thither from other places. Thoſe that are the immediate produce of the country are borax, ſaltpetre, ſilk, ſilk-ſtuffs, muſlins, and a hundred different ſorts of cottons.

THE borax which is found in the province of Patna, is a ſaline ſubſtance, which the chymiſts in Europe have in vain attempted to counterfeit. Some of them take it for an alkaline ſalt, which is found completely formed in the rich country of Indoſtan; others will have it to be the produce of volcanos, or ſubterraneous fires.

BE this, as it may, the borax is of great uſe in the working of metals by facilitating their fuſion and purification. This ſubſtance being quickly vitrified by the action of fire, attracts the heterogeneous particles that are intermixed with theſe metals, and reduces them to droſs. The borax is likewiſe indiſpenſably neceſſary in the eſſaying of mines, and the ſoldering of metals. The Dutch alone have the ſecret of refining it, which is ſaid to have been communicated to them by ſome Venetian families that came to ſeek that liberty in the united provinces which they did not enjoy under the tyranny of their own ariſtocratical government.

SALT-

BOOK III.

SALTPETRE is likewiſe the produce of Patna. It is extracted from a clay, which is either black, whitiſh, or red. The manner of refining it is by digging a large pit in which this nitrous earth is depoſited, and diluted with a quantity of water, which is kept ſtirred till it comes to a conſiſtency. The water having drawn out all the ſalts, and the groſſer parts ſubſiding at the bottom, the more fluid particles are taken out and put into another pit not ſo large as the former. This ſubſtance having undergone a ſecond purification, the clear water that ſwims on the top, and is totally impregnated with nitre, is taken off, and boiled in caldrons; it is ſkimmed while it is boiling, and, in a few hours, a nitrous ſalt is obtained infinitely ſuperior to any that is found elſewhere. The Europeans export about ten millions of pounds for the uſe of their ſettlements in Aſia, or for home conſumption in their reſpective countries. It is bought upon the ſpot for three ſols (1*d.* ½.) a pound, at the moſt, and is ſold again to us for ten (5*d.*) at the leaſt.

CASSUMBAZAR, which is grown rich by the ruin of Malda and Rajamahadel is the general market for Bengal ſilk, the greateſt part of which is ſupplied from that territory. The ſilk-worms are brought up and fed there in the ſame manner as in other places; but the heat of the climate hatches them and makes them thrive every month in the year. A great quantity of ſilk and cotton ſtuffs are manufactured here, which are circulated through part of Aſia: thoſe that are made entirely of ſilk, are for the moſt part carried to Delhi. They are prohibited in France; and throughout the north of Europe, the conſumption in the articles is almoſt entirely confined to a few armoiſines, and a prodigious number of handkerchiefs. As for the unwrought ſilk, the quantity conſumed in the European manufactures

tures may be eſtimated at three or four hundred thouſand pounds weight. It is in general of a very inferior quality, ill twiſted, and takes no gloſs in dying. It is uſed for little elſe than the woof in brocades; and is ſold upon the ſpot from 272 to 288 livres (from 11*l.* 18*s.* to 12*l.* 12*s.*) a quintal. The companies that have a capital, and induſtry and ſkill ſufficient to twiſt it in their own warehouſes, obtain it at a cheaper rate.

It would be a tedious and uſeleſs taſk to enumerate all the places where ticken and cottons, proper for the table, or intended to be worn plain, painted or printed, are manufactured. It will be ſufficient to mention Dacca, which may be looked upon as the general mart of Bengal, where the greateſt variety of the fineſt cottons are to be met with, and in the greateſt abundance.

This town is ſituated in twenty-four degrees north latitude. The fertility of its ſoil, and the advantages of its ſituation have long ſince made it the centre of an extenſive commerce. The courts of Delhi and Muxadavad are furniſhed from thence with the cottons wanted for their own conſumption. They each of them maintain an agent on the ſpot to ſuperintend the manufacture of them; who has an authority, independent of the magiſtrates, over the brokers, weavers, embroiderers, and all the workmen, whoſe buſineſs has any relation to the object of his commiſſion. Theſe unhappy people are forbidden, under pecuniary and corporal penalties, to ſell to any perſon whatever a piece exceeding the value of 72 livres (three guineas): nor can they, but by dint of money, relieve themſelves from this oppreſſion.

In this, as in all the other markets, the European companies treat with Mooriſh brokers ſettled upon the ſpot, and appointed by the government. They likewiſe lend their name to the individuals of their own nation

BOOK III.

nation as well as to Indians and Armenians living in their ſettlements, who, without this precaution, would infallibly be plundered. The Moors themſelves, in their private tranſactions, frequently avail themſelves of the ſame pretence, that they may pay only two inſtead of five per cent.

A DISTINCTION is obſerved, in their contracts between the cottons, that are beſpoken, and thoſe, which the weaver ventures, in ſome places, to manufacture upon his own account. The length, the number of threads, and the price of the former are fixed: nothing further than the commiſſion for the latter is ſtipulated, becauſe it is impoſſible to enter into the ſame detail. Thoſe nations that make a point of having fine goods, take proper meaſures, that they may be enabled to advance money to their workmen at the beginning of the year. The weavers, who in general have but little employment at that time, perform their work with leſs hurry than in the months of October, November and December, when the demand is preſſing.

SOME of the cottons are delivered unbleached, and others half bleached. It were to be wiſhed that this cuſtom might be altered. It is very common to ſee cottons, that look very beautiful, go off in the bleaching. Perhaps, the manufacturers and brokers foreſee how they will turn out: but the Europeans have not ſo exquiſite a touch, nor ſuch an experienced eye as to diſcern this. It is a circumſtance peculiar to India that cottons, of whatever kind ſoever they are, can never be well bleached and prepared but in the place where they are manufactured. If they have the misfortune to get damaged before they are ſhipped for Europe, they muſt be ſent back to the places from whence they came.

AMONG

AMONG the cottons purchaſed at Dacca, the plain, ſtriped and worked muſlins are, beyond all compariſon, of the greateſt importance. Bengal is the only country in India where they are made, as it produces the only cotton proper for that manufacture. It is planted at the end of October, and gathered in February; when it is prepared with all expedition, that it may be ready for the loom in the months of May, June, and July. This is the rainy ſeaſon; and as the cotton ſhrinks more, and is leſs apt to break at this time, it is therefore the fitteſt for the purpoſe of manufacturing muſlins. The artiſts who work at other ſeaſons of the year, give the cotton its requiſite degree of moiſtneſs, by dipping the part immediately under the warp into water. In this ſenſe we are to underſtand what is ſaid of fabricating muſlins in water.

TO whatever degree of fineneſs theſe cottons have been brought, it is certain it falls very ſhort of the perfection of which they are capable. The practice of the government in obliging the beſt manufacturers to work on its own account, in paying them ill, and keeping them in a ſtate of captivity, makes them afraid of diſplaying too much ſkill. A prevailing ſpirit of reſtraint and rigour ſtifles induſtry, which though the daughter of neceſſity, is at the ſame time the companion of liberty.

THE courts of Delhi and Muxadavad lay no great ſtreſs upon the embroidered work ſuperinduced upon muſlins: and the people of the country, the Moors, Patans, and Armenians, who give large orders, follow their example and take them as they find them. This indifference hinders the progreſs of the art of embroidery. The Europeans agree for embroideries as they do for muſlins and other merchandiſe, with brokers authorized by the government, to which they pay an annual

BOOK III.

annual contribution for this exclusive privilege. These agents assign to the women the prices designed for plate embroideries, and those in chain-work to the men. The Europeans frequently content themselves with Indian patterns; at other times they send patterns for stripes and embroideries.

The sum total of the purchases made in Bengal by the European nations amounted, a few years ago, to no more than twenty millions (above 870,000*l.*) One third of this sum was paid in iron, lead, copper, woollens, and Dutch spices: the remainder was discharged in money. Since the English have made themselves masters of this rich country, its exports have been increased, and its imports diminished, because the conquerors have carried away a greater quantity of merchandise, and pay for it out of the revenues they receive from the country. There is reason to believe, that this revolution in the trade of Bengal has not arrived at its crisis, and that sooner or later it will be attended with more important consequences and effects.

English settlement at St. Helena.

To maintain their correspondence with this vast country, and their other Asiatic settlements, the English company have fixed upon St. Helena as a place of refreshment. This island, which is only between twenty eight and twenty nine miles in circumference, lies in fifteen degrees fifty minutes south latitude, between Africa and America, and almost at an equal distance from those two quarters of the globe. It does not appear that the Portuguese, who discovered it in 1502, ever established a colony there; but it is certain that, agreeable to their usual method, they put on shore some cattle and poultry for the use of the ships that might touch there. These conveniencies afterwards invited the Dutch to form a small settlement upon the island, which they were afterwards dispossessed of

of by the Engliſh, who have been ſettled there ever ſince the year 1673.

THOUGH St. Helena appears to be nothing but a large rock, beaten on all ſides by the waves, it is nevertheleſs a delightful place. The climate is more temperate than might be expected; the ſoil, which is only a foot and a half deep, is covered with citrons, palms, pomegranates and other trees, laden with flowers and fruit at the ſame time; while ſtreams of excellent water, which nature has diſtributed better than art could have done, enliven the whole ſcene. Thoſe who are born in this fortunate abode enjoy a perfect ſtate of health; paſſengers are here cured of their diſorders, particularly of the ſcurvy. Four hundred families, compoſed of Engliſh and of French refugees, cultivate pulſe, and breed cattle, which are of an exquiſite flavour, and of great ſervice to the ſhips crews that put in there. This ſettlement, which nature and art have united to render almoſt impregnable, has, however, one grand defect; the ſhips that return from India to Europe land there with eaſe and ſecurity, but the outward-bound ſhips cannot reach this aſylum, being ſtrongly repelled by winds and adverſe currents. To avoid the inconveniences attending ſo long a voyage, when made without ſtopping, ſeveral of them put in at the Cape of Good Hope; others, particularly thoſe bound to Arabia and Malabar; take in refreſhments at the iſlands of Comora.

The uſe the Engliſh make of the iſland of Comora.

THESE iſlands, that lie in the Mozambique channel, between the coaſt of Zanguebar and Madagaſcar, are five in number; the principal one, from which this ſmall archipelago takes its name, is little known. The Portugueſe, who diſcovered it in the courſe of their firſt expeditions, brought the name of Europeans into ſuch deteſtation by their cruelties, that all who have ſince ventured

BOOK III.

ventured to go on ſhore there have either been maſſacred or very ill treated. It has accordingly been quite forſaken. The iſlands of Mayota, Moeti, and Anjuan, are not more frequented, on account of the difficulty of approaching them, and the want of a ſafe anchorage. The Engliſh veſſels put in at the iſland of Joanna.

HERE it is that, within the compaſs of thirty leagues, nature diſplays all her riches, with all her ſimplicity. Hills ever green, and vallies ever gay, every where preſent a variety of delightful landſcapes. Thirty thouſand inhabitants, diſtributed into ſeventy-three villages, ſhare its productions. They ſpeak the Arabic language, and their religion is a very corrupt ſort of Mohammedaniſm; their moral principles are more refined than they uſually are in this part of the globe; the habit they have contracted of living upon milk and vegetables has given them an unconquerable averſion from labour. From this indolence ariſes a certain air of grandeur, which, in the people of diſtinction, conſiſts in letting their nails grow to an immoderate length. To give a beauty to this negligence, they tinge them with a yellowiſh red, which they extract from a ſhrub.

THESE people, born to indolence, have loſt that liberty which they, doubtleſs, came hither to enjoy from a neighbouring continent, of which they were the original inhabitants. An Arabian trader, not quite a century ago, having killed a Portugueſe gentleman at Mozambique, threw himſelf into a boat, which chance conducted to Joanna. This ſtranger made ſuch good uſe of his ſuperior abilities, and the aſſiſtance of a few of his countrymen, that he acquired an abſolute authority, which is ſtill maintained by his grandſon. This change in the government did not at all diminiſh the liberty and ſecurity enjoyed by the Engliſh, who landed upon the iſland. They continued to put their ſick on

on ſhore without moleſtation, where the ſalubrity of the air, the excellence of the fruits, proviſions and water, ſoon reſtored them to health. They were only obliged to give a higher price for the proviſions they wanted, for which the following reaſons may be aſſigned.

THE Arabians having been induced to frequent an iſland governed by an Arab, have brought the Indian manufactures into vogue; and as the cowries, cocoa-nuts, and other commodities they received in exchange, were not ſufficient to defray the expence of this article of luxury, the iſlanders have been obliged to demand money for their goats and poultry, which they before exchanged for glaſs beads, and other baubles of as little value. This innovation has not, however, made the Engliſh deſert a place of refreſhment, which has no other inconvenience than that of being at too great a diſtance from our latitudes.

The Engliſh company leave the country trade to private adventurers.

A SIMILAR inconvenience did not prevent the Engliſh company from extending their trade very conſiderably. The intercourſe carried on between one port of India and another was too confined, and of too little conſequence, to engage their attention for any long time. They were ſoon ſufficiently enlightened to perceive that it was not for their intereſt to continue this kind of commerce; and therefore invited the private traders of their own nation to embark in it. They lent them their aſſiſtance, by taking a ſhare in their expeditions, and granting them privileges on board their own fleets, and frequently even undertook to be the carriers of their merchandiſe at a low freight. This generous behaviour reſulting from a national ſpirit, and ſo diametrically oppoſite to that of other companies, quickly gave activity, ſtrength, and credit, to the Engliſh ſettlements. Their free merchants were ſoon in poſſeſſion of a dozen brigantines, that were employed within the Ganges, or were

BOOK III.

diſpatched from thence to Acham, Keda, Johor and Ligor. They fitted out an equal number of larger veſſels from Calcutta, Madraſs, and Bombay, which frequented all the ſea-ports in the eaſt. Theſe veſſels would have been ſtill more numerous, had not the company enacted a duty of five per cent. in all the places where they had ſettlements, and eight and a half per cent. upon all the remittances made by the free merchants to the capital. When their neceſſities did not compel them to recede from this unaccountable arrangement, theſe merchants lent their money upon bottomry, ſometimes to other European merchants that wanted it, but moſt frequently to the captains of ſhips belonging to their own nation, who, not being ſtrictly dependent upon the company, can traffic for others in the voyages they make for them.

The company judge it improper to keep up their marine.

At its firſt riſe this great body was ambitious of maintaining a maritime force. This was quite laid aſide when it reſumed its operations in the time of the Protector. Having nothing then in view but profit, they reſolved to embark their goods on private bottoms; and what was then done through neceſſity, has ſince been continued through oeconomy. There are merchants who furniſh them with ſhips, completely rigged and victualled, to carry out to India, and bring back to Europe, ſuch a number of tons as they contract for. The time they are to ſtay at the place of their deſtination is always fixed. Thoſe which happen to have no cargo to bring back, are uſually hired by ſome free merchant, who engages to indemnify the owner. Theſe are always the firſt ſent home the following year, to prevent their rigging from being too much worn. In caſes of neceſſity the company will equip them out of their own ſtore-houſes; but they oblige them to pay at the ſtipulated rate of fifty per cent. advance on them.

The

THE veſſels employed in this navigation carry from ſix to eight hundred tons burden. At their departure the company occupy juſt ſo much room as is ſufficient to hold their iron, their lead, their copper, their woollens, and Madeira wine, which are the only merchandiſe they ſend to India. The owners are allowed to ſtore the remaining part of each veſſel with the proviſions neceſſary for ſo long a voyage, and any other articles which the ſociety they are concerned for do not trade in. On their return, they have likewiſe a right to aſſign to any uſe they think proper a ſpace equal to thirty tons, which, by their contract, is reſerved to themſelves: they may even take in the ſame articles as are embarked for the company. Till lately they uſed to pay the company thirty per cent. on the value of theſe commodities; but ſince the 21ſt of October 1773, this duty has been reduced to one-half. It was thought that this indulgence would diſpoſe the owners and their agents more punctually to fulfil their engagements, and would put a ſtop to fraudulent importations. The ſpirit of humanity, which is more common in free ſtates than in others, has in England given riſe to a very commendable cuſtom: the ſurgeon of each ſhip that arrives from India receives, beſides his pay, twenty-two livres, ten ſols, (near a pound,) by way of gratuity for every man in the ſhip's company that he brings back to Europe.

Capital of the company.

THE company, diſengaged from the trouble neceſſarily attending the maintenance of a marine, as well as from the country trade in India, had no other object to take up their attention than the commerce carried on directly between Europe and Aſia. They entered upon it with a capital of 8,322,547 livres 10 ſols; (364,111*l.* 9*d.* ¾.) and, in 1676, having, by fortunate events, been enabled to make a diviſion of cent. per cent. they thought it moſt for their intereſt to double their capital. This

BOOK III.

capital ſtill kept increaſing, till in 1702 the two companies that had ſo obſtinately oppoſed each other, threw their wealth, their plans, and their hopes, into one common ſtock. It has ſince riſen to ſeventy-two millions (3,150,000*l.*) divided into ſhares, originally of 1,125, (not quite 50*l.*) and afterwards of 2,250 livres. (not quite 100*l.*)

Extent of the company's trade.

THE trade was, in the beginning, carried on with great ſpirit and ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of their ſtock. As early as the year 1628, the company employed twelve thouſand tons of ſhipping, and four thouſand ſeamen. Their expeditions varied in an inconceivable manner; and were more or leſs conſiderable, according to the ignorance or capacity of thoſe who conducted them; the different ſtates of peace or war, the proſperity or misfortunes of the metropolis, the fondneſs or indifference of the Europeans for Indian manufactures; and the different degrees of competition they met with from other nations. Since the beginning of the preſent century, theſe changes have been neither ſo frequent, nor ſo remarkable. The trade has been eſtabliſhed upon a more ſolid baſis, and the ſales have riſen to ſeventy-eight millions. (above 3,400,000*l.*)

THEIR amount would have been ſtill greater, had it not been for the reſtraints that are laid upon them. To enter into a detail of theſe would be too long and too minute a taſk. It will be ſufficient to mention, that every ſhip returning from India is obliged to unlade in England, and that thoſe which bring prohibited goods are compelled to land them at the port of London. The cottons and ſtuffs that come from theſe countries pay very high duties; thoſe levied upon tea are ſtill higher. If the government hoped, by laying on ſo enormous a tax, to abate the exceſſive fondneſs of the people for this liquor, its expectations have not been anſwered.

TEA

TEA was introduced into England by the Lords Arlington and Oſſory, who imported it from Holland in 1666, and their ladies brought it into faſhion among people of their own rank. At that time it ſold in London for ſixty-ſeven or ſixty-eight livres (about 3*l.*) a pound, though it coſt but three or four at Batavia. Notwithſtanding the price was kept up with very little variation, the fondneſs for this liquor gained ground; it was not, however, brought into common uſe till towards the year 1715, when green tea began to be drank, whereas till then no ſort was known but the bohea. The fondneſs for this Aſiatic leaf has ſince become univerſal. Perhaps, the phrenzy is not without its inconveniencies; but it cannot be denied, that it has contributed more to the ſobriety of the nation than the ſevereſt laws, the moſt eloquent harangues of chriſtian orators, or the beſt treatiſes of morality.

IN 1766 ſix millions of pounds of tea were brought from China by the Engliſh, four millions five hundred thouſand by the Dutch, two millions four hundred thouſand by the Swedes, the ſame quantity by the Danes, and two millions one hundred thouſand by the French. The ſum total of theſe quantities amounts to ſeventeen millions four hundred thouſand pounds. The preference given by moſt nations to chocolate, coffee, and other liquors, joined to a ſeries of obſervations carefully purſued for ſeveral years, and the moſt exact calculations, that can poſſibly be made in ſuch complicated caſes, inclines us to think that the whole conſumption throughout Europe does not exceed five millions four hundred thouſand pounds. In this caſe, that of Great Britain muſt be twelve millions.

IT is univerſally allowed, that there are at leaſt two millions in the mother country, and a million in the colonies, who conſtantly drink tea. It is not unreaſonable to

BOOK III.

ſuppoſe, that each individual conſumes four pounds in a year; but ſhould the quantity be ſomething leſs, the deficiency is ſupplied by thoſe who are leſs attached to it, and for this reaſon have not been taken into the account. A pound of tea, which coſts only thirty ſols (about 1*s.* 4*d.*) in the Eaſt, conſtantly ſells in England for ſix livres ten ſols, (near ſix ſhillings.) including the duty; conſequently the rage for this Aſiatic leaf coſts the nation about ſeventy-two millions. (about 3,150,000*l.*

To oppoſe the entries of the cuſtom-houſe to this computation would argue either ignorance or artifice. It is true that the amount of the duties, which, according to this calculation, ought to be about 18,000,000 livres, (near 790,000*l.*) is hardly half ſo much; but the contraband trade in this commodity carried on in England is notorious. The government itſelf is ſo thoroughly convinced of it, that, in order to leſſen it, it has lately lowered the duty twenty ſols (10*d.*) a pound. In all probability it would have been ſtill more generous, had it not unfortunately been under the neceſſity of conſidering its cuſtoms as a reſource of finance, rather than as the thermometer of its commerce. This relaxation, which of itſelf is not ſufficient to prevent the teas in the different ports of Europe from being ſmuggled into Great Britain, has been rendered more efficacious by the national acquiſition of the Iſle of Man, which belonged to the Athol family.

THOUGH moſt branches of the public revenue have been increaſed by an arrangement, which deprived the illicit trader of his moſt convenient market, the India Company have been particularly benefited by it. As their commodities were ſubjected to higher duties than any others, the clandeſtine importation of them was more common, and was principally carried on by the Iſle of Man, which is admirably ſituated to receive veſ-

ſels

ſels from the North. Tea was the favourite object of this contraband trade. The Engliſh company will not fail, in future, to provide as much ſtock as may anſwer their demands, and to ſecure to themſelves the advantages which their rivals raviſhed from them within the limits of their own empire.

THE teas and other merchandiſe that arrive from India are paid for in money. The government which is not ignorant of this, has limited the exportation of ſpecie to 6,750,000 livres. (about 295,000*l.*) This unaccountable reſtriction, ſo unworthy a commercial people, neither has been or can be carried into execution. The ſums regiſtered are always much higher, but this indulgence does not prevent conſiderable ſums being clandeſtinely carried abroad without the knowledge of the cuſtom-houſe officers. Theſe fraudulent practices have increaſed in proportion as the trade has become more extenſive; and the money ſent out of the kingdom, has been long computed at one third of the profit ariſing from the ſales.

THIS exportation of ſpecie would have been more conſiderable if the company had adhered to that article in their charter, by which it is provided, that they ſhall export in merchandiſe of their own nation, the value of the tenth part of what they take in money upon their veſſels. They have conſtantly made a charge for much greater ſums in braſs, lead, and Engliſh cloths, without reckoning the profits made in India upon iron from Sweden and Biſcay, and other articles taken from ſeveral countries of Europe.

THEIR advocates, in order to reinſtate them in the good opinion of the public, which they have but ſeldom enjoyed, have frequently aſſerted, that this body occaſioned as much money to be brought into the country, as they carried out of it. This plea cauſed ſuch a

BOOK III.

warm altercation in the beginning of the preſent century, that the government thought the queſtion not unworthy of its attention. It was found by conſulting the regiſters, that from the end of December 1712, to the end of December 1717, 52,563,037 livres 10 ſols (2,299,632*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* ¾.) had been exported to India. From all circumſtances it appeared, that the caſh clandeſtinely carried out amounted, at leaſt, to one half; and that conſequently, there could be no miſtake in eſtimating the amount of both theſe ſums at 78,844,566 livres 5 ſols. (3,449,449*l.*) The ſums remitted home by the company, in the ſame ſpace of time, amounted to 75,058,391 livres 5 ſols. (3,283,804*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* ½.) Thus, ſuppoſing theſe calculations to be juſt, the conſumption of the Aſiatic productions in England for five years, ſhould not have riſen ſo high as 3,786,165 livres: (about 165,645*l.*) but there is reaſon to believe that it roſe much higher; and that a great deal of merchandiſe apparently ſold to foreigners, never ſtirred out of the kingdom. The partiality that has lately prevailed in favour of Scotch and Iriſh linens, printed in England, and the encreaſe of the ſilk manufacture, by leſſening the demand for contraband goods, muſt of neceſſity render the commerce of the Eaſt more advantageous to the nation. Before the year 1720, Great Britain annually conſumed three millions ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand yards of India cottons; but this conſumption is greatly diminiſhed.

Diviſions of the proprietors.

It is not to be ſuppoſed, that any changes could happen in the relative ſtate of the Indian trade with the government in general, without producing ſome alterations in the private fortunes of the proprietors. Their profits have, at certain periods, been enormous; at others, very ſlender. The ſhares have been regulated in conformity to theſe variations. The dividend, which, for a long

long time, had been no more that ſeven per cent. was, in 1743, raiſed to eight. It was afterwards reduced to ſix, in 1766 it roſe to ten, and ſince that time to twelve and a half. This was more than the ſituation of the company could afford; ſince, at this period, they had little more remaining than their original capital. If this be the caſe, how has it happened that ſo ſlender a capital ſhould, in the opinion of the public, have acquired the value of 280,000,000, (about 12,250,000*l.*) which is the amount according to the price of the ſtock?

THIS objection is not anſwerable. The enthuſiaſm of the Engliſh is well known. It has repeatedly been excited by circumſtances that would not have made the leaſt impreſſion on the moſt volatile and trifling people. An important event has forcibly drawn the whole nation into its vortex. They have abandoned themſelves with all the impetuoſity of their character, to the vaſt proſpects that have been opened to them by the late conqueſt of Bengal.

Conqueſt of Bengal. Advantages drawn by the Engliſh from this acquiſition, and the conduct they have hitherto obſerved.

SHOULD it be aſked, if this aſtoniſhing revolution, which has had ſo ſenſible an influence, both upon the ſtate of the inhabitants of this part of Aſia, and upon the trade of the European nations in theſe climates, hath been the conſequence and reſult of a ſeries of political ſchemes?—If it be one of thoſe events, of which prudence has a right to claim the ſole merit? We ſhall anſwer; No. Chance alone has determined it: and the circumſtances that have opened this field of glory and power to the Engliſh, far from promiſing them the ſucceſs they have had, ſeemed on the contrary to threaten them with the moſt fatal reverſe of fortune.

A PERNICIOUS cuſtom had for ſome time prevailed in theſe countries. The governors of all the European ſettlements took upon them to grant an aſylum to ſuch of the natives of the country as were afraid of oppreſſion

or

BOOK III.

or punishment. As they received very considerable sums in return for their protection, they overlooked the danger, to which the interests of their principals were exposed by this proceeding. One of the chief officers of Bengal, who was apprized of this resource, took refuge among the English at Calcutta to avoid the punishment due to his treachery. He was taken under their protection. The subah, justly irritated, put himself at the head of his army, attacked the place, and took it. He put the garrison into a close dungeon, where they were suffocated in the space of twelve hours. Three and twenty of them only remained alive. These wretched people offered large sums to the keeper of their prison, to prevail upon him to get their deplorable situation represented to the prince. Their cries and lamentations were sufficient informations to the people who were touched with compassion; but no one would venture to address the despotic monarch upon the subject. The expiring English were told that he was asleep; and there was not, perhaps, a single person in Bengal who thought that the tyrant's slumbers should be interrupted, even to preserve the lives of one hundred and fifty unfortunate men.

Admiral Watson, who was just arrived in India with his squadron, and Colonel Clive who had so remarkably distinguished himself in the war of the Carnatic, did not hesitate to revenge the cause of their country. They got together the English who had been dispersed, and were flying from place to place, they went up the Ganges in the month of December 1756, retook Calcutta, made themselves masters of several other places, and gained a complete victory over the subah.

Such a rapid and extensive success becomes in a manner inconceivable, when we consider that it was obtained with a body of five hundred men that the English were

o ſtand againſt the whole force of Bengal. But if their ſuperiority was partly owing to their better diſcipline, nd to other evident advantages that the Europeans ave in battle over the Indian powers; the ambition of aſtern chiefs, the avarice of their miniſters, and the ature of a government, whoſe only ſprings are fear nd preſent intereſt, were of ſtill more effectual ſervice o them: they had experience enough to take advange of the concurrence of theſe ſeveral circumſtanes in their firſt attack, and in all that ſucceeded it. The ubah became deteſted by all his own people, as tyrants enerally are, the principal officers ſold their intereſt to he Engliſh; he was betrayed at the head of his army, he greateſt part of which refuſed to engage; and he imſelf fell into the hands of his enemies, who cauſed im to be ſtrangled in priſon.

THEY diſpoſed of the ſubahſhip in favour of Jaffierlly-Khan, the ringleader of the conſpiracy; who ced to the company ſome provinces with a grant of every rivilege, exemption and favour, to which they could ave any pretence. But ſoon growing weary of the oke he had brought upon himſelf, he was ſecretly look-g out for means to get rid of it. His deſigns were diſvered, and he was arreſted in the center of his own pital.

COSSIM-ALLY-KHAN, his nephew, was proclaimed his ſtead. He had purchaſed that uſurpation with an menſe ſum of money. But he did not enjoy it long. patient of the yoke, as his predeceſſor had been, he ve ſome tokens of his intractability, and refuſed to bmit to the laws the company impoſed upon him. pon this the war broke out again. The ſame Jaffierly-Khan, whom the Engliſh kept a priſoner, was a-in proclaimed ſubah of Bengal. They marched a-inſt Coſſim-Ally-Khan. His general officers were corrupted:

BOOK III.

corrupted: he was betrayed and entirely defeated: too happy, that whilſt he loſt his dignity, he ſtill preſerved the immenſe treaſures he had amaſſed.

NOTWITHSTANDING this revolution, Coſſim-Aly did not drop his hopes of vengeance. Full of reſentment, and loaded with treaſure, he ſet out for the nabob of Benarez, chief viſir in the Mogul's empire. He and all the neighbouring princes re-united in oppoſition to the common enemy, who threatened them all equally. But now the conteſt lay no longer between them and a handful of Europeans juſt arrived from the coaſt of Coromandel; they were to engage with the whole ſtrength of Bengal, of which the Engliſh were maſters. Elated with their ſucceſſes, they did not wait to be attacked; they ſet out directly and made head againſt ſo formidable a league, marching on with all the confidence which Clive could inſpire, a leader, whoſe name ſeemed to have become the pledge of conqueſt. However, Clive did not care to hazard any thing. Part of the campaign was ſpent in negociations; but in time the treaſures which the Engliſh had drawn from Bengal, ſerved to enſure them new conqueſts. The heads of the Indian army were corrupted; and when the nabob of Benarez was deſirous of coming to action, he was obliged to fly with his men without ever being able to engage.

BY this victory, the country of Benarez fell into the hands of the Engliſh: and it ſeemed as if nothing could hinder them from annexing that ſovereignty to that of Bengal: but either from moderation or prudence, they were content to levy eight millions by contribution: and they offered peace to the nabob on conditions which would render him incapable of doing them any hurt; but ſuch as they were, he moſt readily agreed to them, that he might regain the poſſeſſion of his own provinces.

In the midſt of theſe calamities, Coſſim-Ally ſtill found means to preſerve part of his treaſures, and retired to the Cheyks, a people ſituated in the neighbourhood of Delhi, from whence he made an attempt to procure ſome allies, and to raiſe up a body of enemies to oppoſe the Engliſh.

While matters were thus circumſtanced in Bengal, the Mogul having been driven out of Delhi by the Patans, by whom his ſon had been ſet up in his room, was wandering from one province to another in ſearch of a place of refuge in his own territories, and requeſting ſuccour from his own vaſſals but without ſucceſs. Abandoned by his ſubjects, betrayed by his allies, without ſupport, without any army; he was allured by the power of the Engliſh, and implored their protection, they promiſed to conduct him to Delhi, and re-eſtabliſh him on his throne; but they began by cauſing him to cede to them before-hand the abſolute ſovereignty over Bengal. This ceſſion was made by an authentic act, and attended with all the formalities uſually practiſed throughout the Mogul empire.

The Engliſh, ſecurely poſſeſſed of this title, which was to give a kind of legitimacy to their uſurpation, at leaſt in the eyes of the vulgar, ſoon forgot the promiſes they had made. They gave the Mogul to underſtand that particular circumſtances would not ſuffer them to be concerned in ſuch an enterprize; that ſome better opportunity was to be hoped for; and to make up for all his loſſes, they aſſigned him a penſion of ſix millions (262,500*l.*) with the revenue of Illahabad, and Shahanabad or Delhi; upon which that unfortunate prince was reduced to ſubſiſt himſelf in one of the principal towns of the province of Banarez, where he has taken up his reſidence. Thus the Mogul empire comes to be ſhared between two governing powers, one of which is acknowledged

BOOK III.

corrupted: he was betrayed and entirely defeated: too happy, that whilſt he loſt his dignity, he ſtill preſerved the immenſe treaſures he had amaſſed.

NOTWITHSTANDING this revolution, Coſſim-Ally did not drop his hopes of vengeance. Full of reſentment, and loaded with treaſure, he ſet out for the nabob of Benarez, chief viſir in the Mogul's empire. He and all the neighbouring princes re-united in oppoſition to the common enemy, who threatened them all equally. But now the conteſt lay no longer between them and a handful of Europeans juſt arrived from the coaſt of Coromandel; they were to engage with the whole ſtrength of Bengal, of which the Engliſh were maſters. Elated with their ſucceſſes, they did not wait to be attacked; they ſet out directly and made head againſt ſo formidable a league, marching on with all the confidence which Clive could inſpire, a leader, whoſe name ſeemed to have become the pledge of conqueſt. However, Clive did not care to hazard any thing. Part of the campaign was ſpent in negociations; but in time the treaſures which the Engliſh had drawn from Bengal, ſerved to enſure them new conqueſts. The heads of the Indian army were corrupted; and when the nabob of Benares was deſirous of coming to action, he was obliged to fly with his men without ever being able to engage.

BY this victory, the country of Benarez fell into the hands of the Engliſh: and it ſeemed as if nothing could hinder them from annexing that ſovereignty to that of Bengal: but either from moderation or prudence, they were content to levy eight millions by contribution: and they offered peace to the nabob on conditions which would render him incapable of doing them any hurt; but ſuch as they were, he moſt readily agreed to them, that he might regain the poſſeſſion of his own provinces.

IN

In the midſt of theſe calamities, Coſſim-Ally ſtill found means to preſerve part of his treaſures, and retired to the Cheyks, a people ſituated in the neighbourhood of Delhi, from whence he made an attempt to procure ſome allies, and to raiſe up a body of enemies to oppoſe the Engliſh.

While matters were thus circumſtanced in Bengal, the Mogul having been driven out of Delhi by the Pattans, by whom his ſon had been ſet up in his room, was wandering from one province to another in ſearch of a place of refuge in his own territories, and requeſting ſuccour from his own vaſſals but without ſucceſs. Abandoned by his ſubjects, betrayed by his allies, without ſupport, without any army; he was allured by the power of the Engliſh, and implored their protection, they promiſed to conduct him to Delhi, and re-eſtabliſh him on his throne; but they began by cauſing him to cede to them before-hand the abſolute ſovereignty over Bengal. This ceſſion was made by an authentic act, and attended with all the formalities uſually practiſed throughout the Mogul empire.

The Engliſh, ſecurely poſſeſſed of this title, which was to give a kind of legitimacy to their uſurpation, at leaſt in the eyes of the vulgar, ſoon forgot the promiſes they had made. They gave the Mogul to underſtand that particular circumſtances would not ſuffer them to be concerned in ſuch an enterprize; that ſome better opportunity was to be hoped for; and to make up for all his loſſes, they aſſigned him a penſion of ſix millions (262,500*l.*) with the revenue of Illahabad, and Shah Ichanabad or Delhi; upon which that unfortunate prince was reduced to ſubſiſt himſelf in one of the principal towns of the province of Banarez, where he has taken up his reſidence. Thus the Mogul empire comes to be ſhared between two governing powers, one of which is acknowledged

BOOK III.

knowledged in the ſeveral diſtricts of India, where the Engliſh company has any eſtabliſhments and authority, the other in ſuch provinces as border on Delhi, and in thoſe parts to which the influence of that company does not extend.

THE Engliſh, thus become ſovereigns of Bengal, have thought it incumbent on them to keep up the ſhadow of ancient forms, in a country where they have the lead, and, perhaps, the only power that is likely to be ſecure and laſting. They govern the kingdom ſtill under the name of a nabob, who is of their nomination and in their pay, and ſeems to give his orders. It is from him that all public acts ſeem to proceed and iſſue, though the decrees in fact of the council at Calcutta; ſo that the people, notwithſtanding their change of maſters, have for a conſiderable time been induced to believe, that they ſtill ſubmitted but to the ſame yoke.

IF we ſhould wiſh to know the amount of the public revenues of Bengal, we ſhall find at the period of the conqueſt, it was equal to fourſcore millions. (3,500,000*l.*) The outgoings, either for the government, or defence of the province, were ſtated at 41 millions; (1,793,750*l.*) ſix millions (262,500*l.*) were agreed to be given to the Mogul, and three millions (131,250*l.*) to the nabob; ſo that the remainder to the company was thirty millions. (1,312,500*l.*) Their purchaſes in the different marts of India might abſorb a great part of this ſum, but ſtill it has been thought there muſt after all remain a ſurplus of ſeveral millions to be carried into Great Britain.

THIS new arrangement of matters without having wrought any ſenſible change in the exterior form of the Engliſh company, has eſſentially changed their object. They are no longer a trading body, they are a territorial

rial power which farms out its revenues in aid of a commerce that formerly was their ſole exiſtence, and which, notwithſtanding the extenſion it has received, is no more than an additional object in the various combinations of their preſent real grandeur. The arrangements intended to give ſtability to a ſituation ſo proſperous are, perhaps, the moſt reaſonable that can be. England has at preſent in India an eſtabliſhment to the amount of nine thouſand eight hundred European troops, and fifty-four thouſand ſipahis well armed and well diſciplined. Three thouſand of theſe Europeans, and twenty-five thouſand ſipahis are diſperſed along the borders of the Ganges.

The moſt conſiderable body of theſe troops has been ſtationed in Benares, once the nurſe of Indian ſcience, and ſtill the moſt famous academy of theſe rich countries, where European avarice pays no regard to any thing. This ſituation is choſen becauſe it appeared favourable for ſtopping the deſcent of the warlike mountaineers of the north; and in caſe of attack, the maintaining of a war in a foreign territory would be leſs ruinous than in the countries of which the company is to receive the revenues. On the ſouth, as far as it has been found practicable, they have occupied all the narrow paſſes by which an enterprizing and active adverſary might attempt to penetrate into the province. Dacca, which is in the center of it, ſees under its walls a conſiderable force always ready to fly wherever their preſence may be neceſſary. All the nabobs and rajahs, who are dependent on the ſubah of Bengal are diſarmed, ſurrounded by ſpies in order to diſcover their conſpiracies, and by troops to render them ineffectual.

In caſe of any unlucky revolution which might oblige the victorious power to change its quarters, and abandon

BOOK III.

don its poſts, they have conſtructed a fort near Calcutta called Fort William, which, in caſe of urgent neceſſity, would ſerve as a place of refuge for the army, ſhould they be forced to retreat, and give time to expect the neceſſary reinforcements for the recovery of their ſuperiority. This fort is a regular octagon with eight baſtions, ſeveral counter-guards, and ſome half moons already begun without a glacis, or covered way. The ditch of this fort may be about one hundred and ſixty feet broad, its depth nearly eighteen. On the ſide of the Ganges, the place is leaſt ſtrong, and the curtains are covered only with redans, over which there is a double battery raiſed on piles. The principal inconvenience of this citadel, whoſe conſtruction coſt twenty millions, (875,000*l.*) is, that it does not ſerve to protect Calcutta, which is now become the city of the greateſt importance in India, whoſe people amount to ſix hundred thouſand ſouls, and has prodigious riches centered within her walls, and by a variety of circumſtances is now become the theatre of a moſt extenſive commerce: It muſt neceſſarily be that wholeſomeneſs of the air, and the advantage of a very fortunate poſition has prevailed over every other conſideration.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe precautions taken by the Engliſh, they are not, and cannot be, without apprehenſions. The Mogul power may gain ſtrength, and wiſh to reſcue one of its fineſt provinces out of the hands of a foreign oppreſſor. They have reaſon to fear that the barbarous nations may be again allured by the ſoftneſs of the climate. The princes now at variance may, perhaps, put an end to their conteſts, and re-unite in favour of their common liberty. It is not impoſſible but the Indians, who are in the pay of the victorious Engliſh, and actually conſtitute their force, may

may one day turn upon them thoſe arms of which they have been taught the uſe. The grandeur of the company, founded ſolely on deluſion, may, perhaps, moulder away without their being actually driven from what they poſſeſs. It is well known that the Marrattas have their eyes continually turned towards this fine country, and are conſtantly threatening it with an invaſion. Unleſs the Engliſh are ſucceſsful enough, either by bribery, or intrigue, to divert the ſtorm, Bengal will be the object of pillage and rapine, whatever meaſures may be taken to oppoſe a light cavalry, whoſe alertneſs exceeds every thing we can ſay of it. The incurſions of theſe ravagers may be repeated; and then they will have leſs tribute to pay, but their expence muſt be increaſed. Suppoſing, however, that none of the miſchiefs we have ventured to foreſee, ſhould take place, is it likely that the revenues of Bengal ſhould always continue the ſame? We muſt have leave to doubt it. The Engliſh company no longer exports any ſilver, but even carries away ſome for the uſe of their factories. Their merchant's agents make immenſe fortunes, and even private perſons gain a tolerable competence, which they repair to the capital to enjoy. The other European nations find in the treaſures of this ruling power, accommodations which make it unneceſſary to introduce new bullion. Muſt not all theſe combinations ſerve to bring about a blank in the reckoning of thoſe countries, and ſuch as will ſooner or later force itſelf to be left in the making up of the public accounts?

THAT period might be at ſome diſtance, indeed, if the Engliſh reſpecting the rights of humanity were to rid thoſe countries of the oppreſſion under which they have continued to groan for ſo many ages. Then Calcutta, far from being an object of terror to the Indians, would be rendered a tribunal always open to the com-

BOOK III.

plaints of thoſe unhappy ſufferers whom tyranny ſhould dare to moleſt. Property would grow into reſpect, ſo that the treaſure which has been buried ſo long would be drawn out of the bowels of the earth, and fulfil its deſtined purpoſe. Agriculture and manufactures would be encouraged to ſuch a degree, that the objects of export would become from day to day more conſiderable, and the company by following ſuch maxims as theſe, inſtead of being driven to the neceſſity of leſſening the tributes which they found eſtabliſhed, might poſſibly find means to bring about an augmentation conſiſtent with the general ſatisfaction of the natives. Let it not be ſaid that ſuch a plan is chimerical. The Engliſh company of itſelf has already proved the poſſibility of it.

The Europeans, who have acquired any territory in India, for the moſt part chooſe for their farmers the natives of the country, from whom it is common to exact ſuch conſiderable ſums in advance, that in order to pay them they are obliged to borrow at an exorbitant intereſt. The diſtreſs which theſe greedy farmers voluntarily bring on themſelves, obliges them to exact of the inhabitants to whom they underlet ſome parcels of the land, at ſo conſiderable a rent, that the poor wretches quit their villages, and abandon them for ever. The contractor, ruined by this elopement, which renders him inſolvent, is diſmiſſed to make room for a ſucceſſor, who commonly meets with the ſame fate; ſo that it very frequently happens that nothing but the firſt ſum depoſited is ever received from the eſtate, or very little more.

Different ſteps have been taken in the Engliſh colonies, on the coaſt of Coromandel. It had been obſerved that the villages had been formed by ſeveral families, who for the moſt part were connected with each other; this remark ſerved to baniſh the cuſtom

of

of employing farmers. Every land was taxed at a rent certain by the year, and the head of the family was ſecurity for his relations and connexions. This method united the coloniſts one with another, and created in them a diſpoſition as well as the means of affording themſelves a reciprocal ſupport. This has occaſioned the riſe of the ſettlements of that nation to the utmoſt degree of proſperity they were capable of receiving; while thoſe of her rivals were languiſhing for want of cultivation and manufactures, and conſequently of population.

WHY muſt a mode of conduct which does ſo much honour to reaſon and humanity not be extended beyond the ſmall territory of Madraſs? Can it then be true that moderation of temper is a virtue ſingly attached to moderate fortunes? The Engliſh company till theſe latter times had always held a conduct ſuperior to that of the other ſettlements. Their agents, their factors, were well choſen. The moſt part of them were young men of good families, already inſtructed in the rudiments of commerce, and ſuch as were not afraid, when the ſervice of their country called upon them to croſs thoſe ſeas which England conſiders but as a part of her empire. The company had generally regarded their commerce in a great ſcale, and had almoſt always carried it on like an aſſociation of true politicians as well as a body of merchants. Upon the whole their planters, merchants and ſoldiers had retained more honeſty, more regularity, and more firmneſs than thoſe of the other nations.

WHO would ever have imagined that this ſame company, by an immediate alteration of conduct, and change of ſyſtem ſhould ſoon make the people of Bengal regret the deſpotiſm of their ancient maſters? That fatal revolution has been but too ſudden and too real.

BOOK III.

A settled tyranny has taken the place of arbitrary authority. The exactions are become general and stated, the oppression continual and absolute. The destructive art of monopolies is carried to perfection, and new ones have been even invented. In a word, they have altered and tainted the public sources of confidence and happiness.

UNDER the government of the Mogul Emperors, the subahs, who had the care of the revenues, were, from the nature of the business, obliged to leave the receipt of them to Nabobs, Polygars, and Jemidars, who were a sort of under-security to other Indians, and these still to others; so that the produce of the lands passed on, and was partly sunk amidst a multitude of intermediate hands, before it came into the coffers of the subah, who, on his part, delivered but a very small portion of it to the emperor. This administration, faulty in many respects, had in it this favourable circumstance for the people, that the farmers never being changed, the rent of the farms remained always the same; because the least increase, as it disturbed the whole chain of advantage which every one perceived in his turn, would infallibly have occasioned a revolt: a terrible resource, but the only one left in favour of humanity in countries groaning under the oppressions of despotic rulers.

IT is probable that in the midst of these regulations there were many injuries and partial distresses. But, at least, as the receipt of the public monies was made upon a fixed and moderate assessment, emulation was not wholly extinguished. The cultivators of the land being sure of laying up the produce of their harvest, after paying with exactness the rate of their farm, assisted the natural goodness of the soil by their labour; the weavers, masters of the price of their works, being at liberty to make choice of the buyer which best suited

them, exerted themſelves in extending and improving their manufactures. Both the one and the other, being eaſy on the head of their ſubſiſtence, yielded with ſatisfaction to the moſt delightful inclinations of nature, or the prevailing fancy of their climate; and beheld in the encreaſe of their family nothing more than the means of augmenting their riches. Such are evidently the reaſons why induſtry, agriculture, and population, have been carried to ſuch a length in the province of Bengal. One would think they might ſtill be carried further under the government of a free people, friends to humanity; but the thirſt of money, the moſt devouring, the moſt cruel of all paſſions, has given riſe to a pernicious and deſtructive government.

The Engliſh, become ſovereigns of Bengal, ſcarce content to receive the revenues on the ſame footing as the ancient ſubahs, have been deſirous all at once to augment the produce of the farms, and to appropriate to themſelves the rents. To accompliſh both theſe objects, they are become the farmers to their own ſubah, that is, to a creature on whom they have juſt conferred that empty title, the more ſecurely to impoſe on the Indian people. The conſequence of this new plan has been to pillage the farmers, in order to ſubſtitute in their room the company's agents. They have alſo monopolized the ſale of ſalt, tobacco, and betel, objects of the firſt neceſſity in thoſe countries, but they have done this under the name, and apparently on the account of the ſubah. They have gone ſtill further, and have obliged the very ſame ſubah to eſtabliſh in their favour an excluſive privilege for the ſale of cotton coming from any other province, in order to raiſe it to an exorbitant price. They have had the duties augmented, and to conclude all, have obtained an edict, which has been publiſhed, to forbid all private Europeans trad-

BOOK III.

ing in the interior parts of Bengal, and leaving it open and lawful only for the Engliſh.

When we reflect on ſuch a barbarous prohibition, it ſeems as if it had been contrived only to exhauſt all the powers of doing miſchief to that unfortunate country, whoſe proſperity, for their own ſake, ought to be the only object of the Engliſh company. Beſides, it is eaſy to ſee that the perſonal avarice of the members of the council at Calcutta has dictated that ſhameful law. Their deſire was to enſure to themſelves the produce of all the manufactures, at length to force the merchants of other nations, who choſe to trade from one part of India to another, to purchaſe theſe articles of them at an exorbitant price, or to renounce their undertakings.

But ſtill in the midſt of this overbearing conduct, ſo contrary to the advantage of their conſtituents, theſe treacherous agents have attempted to diſguiſe themſelves under the maſk of zeal. It was neceſſary, ſay they, to export to England a quantity of merchandiſe proportioned to the extent of her commerce, but the competition of private traders was prejudicial to the purchaſes of the company.

Under the ſame pretext, and in order to extend this excluſion to the foreign ſettlements while they appear to reſpect their rights, they have of late years ordered more merchandiſe than Bengal could furniſh. At the ſame time the weavers have been forbidden to work for other nations until the Engliſh orders were completed. Thus the workmen, not being any longer at liberty to chooſe among the ſeveral purchaſers, have been forced to deliver the fruits of their labour at the price they were pleaſed to give for them.

Let us conſider too how theſe workmen have been paid. Here reaſon is confounded; we are at a loſs for excuſes

excuſes or pretexts. The Engliſh, conquerors of Bengal, poſſeſſors of the immenſe treaſures which the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, and the induſtry of the inhabitants, had got together, have ventured to take upon themſelves to alter the value of the ſpecie. They have ſet the example of this meanneſs unknown to the deſpotic rulers of Aſia; and it is through this diſgraceful act that they have announced to the natives their ſovereignty over them. It is true that ſuch an operation, ſo contrary to the fidelity of trade and the public faith, could not laſt long. The company themſelves found the pernicious effects of it, and was reſolved to call in all the falſe coin, in order to replace it with other money, perfectly conformable to that which was always current in thoſe countries. But let us attend to the manner in which ſo neceſſary an alteration was conducted.

They have ſtruck in gold rupees to the amount of about fifteen millions (656,250*l.*) nominal value, but which repreſented in fact but nine millions (393,750*l.*); for four-tenths, or ſomething more, was alloy. All who were found to poſſeſs theſe gold rupees of falſe alloy, were enjoined to bring them into the treaſury at Calcutta, where they ſhould be reimburſed for them in ſilver rupees; but inſtead of ten rupees and a half of ſilver, which each gold rupee ought to be worth, according to its rate they gave them but ſix; ſo that the amount of the alloy became the clear loſs of the holder of their money.

An oppreſſion ſo general muſt neceſſarily be attended with violence; and conſequently they have ſeveral times been obliged to have recourſe to force of arms to carry into execution the orders of the council at Calcutta. Theſe forces have not been employed againſt the Indians alone; tumults and military preparations have again broke out on all ſides, even in the midſt of peace.

BOOK III.

The Europeans have been expoſed to ſignal acts of hoſtility, and particularly the French, who notwithſtanding their being ſo reduced, and ſo weak, have ſtill excited the jealouſy of their former rivals.

If to the picture of public diſtreſſes we were to add that of private extortions, we ſhould find the agents of the company, almoſt every where, exacting their tribute with extreme rigour, and raiſing contributions for them with the utmoſt cruelty. We ſhould ſee them carrying a kind of inquiſition into every family, and ſuting in judgment upon every fortune; robbing indiſcriminately the artizan and the labourer, imputing it as a crime againſt him that he is not ſufficiently rich, and puniſhing him accordingly. We ſhould view them ſelling their favour and their credit, as well to oppreſs the innocent as to ſkreen the guilty. We ſhould find in conſequence of theſe irregularities, deſpair ſeizing every heart, and an univerſal dejection getting the better of every mind, both tending to a general ſtop in the progreſs and activity of commerce, agriculture, and population.

It will be thought, without doubt, after theſe details, it was impoſſible that Bengal ſhould have freſh evils to dread. But, however, as if the elements, in league with mankind, had intended to bring all at once upon the ſame people, every calamity that by turns lays waſte the univerſe, a drought of which there never had been an inſtance in thoſe climates, came upon them, and prepared the way for a moſt dreadful famine in a country of all the moſt fertile.

In Bengal they have two harveſts; one in April, the other in October. The firſt, called the little harveſt, conſiſts of the meaner grain; the ſecond, ſtiled the grand harveſt, is ſingly of rice. The rains which commence regularly in the month of Auguſt, and end in the

the middle of October, are the occaſion of theſe different productions; and it was by a drought which happened in 1769, at the ſeaſon when the rains are expected, that there was a failure in the great harveſt of 1769, and the leſſer harveſt of 1770. It is true that the rice on the higher grounds did not ſuffer greatly by this diſturbance of the ſeaſons, but there was far from a ſufficient quantity for the nouriſhment of all the inhabitants of the country; add to which, the Engliſh, who were engaged before hand to take proper care of their ſubſiſtence, as well as of the ſipahis belonging to them, did not fail to keep locked up in their magazine a part of the grain, though the harveſt withal was inſufficient.

They have been accuſed of having made a very bad uſe of that neceſſary foreſight, in order to carry on the moſt odious and the moſt criminal of all monopolies. It may be true that ſuch a horrible method of acquiring riches may have tempted ſome individuals, but that the chief agents of the company, that the council of Calcutta could have adopted and ordered ſuch a deſtructive operation, that, to gain a few millions of rupees, the council ſhould coolly have devoted to deſtruction ſeveral millions of their fellow creatures, and by the moſt cruel means; this is a circumſtance we never can give credit to. We even venture to pronounce it impoſſible; becauſe ſuch wickedneſs could never enter at once into the minds and hearts of a ſet of men, whoſe buſineſs it is to deliberate and act for the good of others.

But ſtill this ſcourge did not fail to make itſelf felt throughout the extent of Bengal. Rice, which is commonly ſet at one ſol (½) for three pounds, has gradually been raiſed till it came ſo high as to be ſold at four ſols (2*d.*) per pound, and it has even been up to five or ſix ſols (about 3*d.*); neither indeed was there any to be found,

BOOK III.

found, except in such places where the Europeans had taken care to collect it for their own occasions.

The unhappy Indians were every day perishing by thousands under this want of sustenance, without any means of help and without any resource, not being able to procure themselves the least nourishment. They were to be seen in their villages, along the public ways, in the midst of our European colonies, pale, meagre, fainting, emaciated, consumed by famine; some stretched on the ground in expectation of dying, others scarce able to drag themselves on to seek for any nutriment, and throwing themselves at the feet of the Europeans, intreating them to take them in as their slaves.

To this description, which makes humanity shudder, let us add other objects equally shocking; let imagination enlarge upon them, if possible; let us represent to ourselves infants deserted, some expiring on the breast of their mothers; every where the dying and the dead mingled together; on all sides the groans of sorrow, and the tears of despair; and we shall then have some faint idea of the horrible spectacle Bengal presented for the space of six weeks.

During this whole time the Ganges was covered with carcases; the fields and highways were choaked up with them; infectious vapours filled the air, and diseases multiplied; and one evil succeeding another, it was near coming to pass, that the plague had carried off the remainder of the inhabitants of that unfortunate kingdom. It appears, by calculations pretty generally acknowledged, that the famine carried off a fourth part; that is to say, about three millions.

But it is still more remarkable, and serves to characterise the gentleness, or rather the indolence, as well moral as natural of the natives, that amidst this terrible distress, such a multitude of human creatures, pressed

preſſed by the moſt urgent of all neceſſities, remained in an abſolute inactivity, and made no attempts whatever for their ſelf-preſervation. All the Europeans, eſpecially the Engliſh, were poſſeſſed of magazines, and theſe very magazines were reſpected; private houſes were ſo too; no revolt, no maſſacre, not the leaſt violence prevailed. The unhappy Indians, reſigned to a quiet deſpair, confined themſelves to the requeſt of ſuccour they did not obtain, and peaceably waited the relief of death.

Let us now repreſent to ourſelves any part of Europe afflicted by a ſimilar calamity. What diſorder! what fury! what atrocious acts! what miſchiefs would enſue! how ſhould we have ſeen among us Europeans, ſome contending for their food with their dagger in hand, ſome purſuing, ſome flying, and, without remorſe, cutting one another's throats. How ſhould we have ſeen men at laſt turn their rage on themſelves, tearing and devouring their own limbs, and, in the blindneſs of deſpair, trampling under foot all authority, as well as every ſentiment of nature and reaſon.

Had it been the fate of the Engliſh to have had the like events to dread on the part of the people of Bengal, perhaps the famine would have been leſs general and leſs deſtructive. For ſetting aſide, as perhaps we ought, every charge of monopoly, no one will undertake to defend them againſt the reproach of negligence and inſenſibility. And in what criſis have they merited that reproach? In the very inſtant of time when the life or death of ſeveral millions of their fellow-creatures was in their power. One would think that, in ſuch an alternative, the very love of human kind, that ſentiment innate in all hearts, might have inſpired them with reſources. Might not the poor wretches expiring before the eyes of the Europeans with reaſon have cried out,

" Is

BOOK III.

" Is it then but for our ruin that you are fertile in ex-
" pedients for your own preſervation? The immenſe
" treaſures which a long ſucceſſion of ages had accu-
" mulated in this country, you have made your own
" ſpoils; you have tranſported them into your own
" country; you have raiſed your contributions on us;
" you have got your agents to receive them for you;
" you are maſters of our interior commerce; you are
" the ſole managers of all our exported merchandize;
" your numerous veſſels laden with the produce of our
" induſtry and our ſoil, paſs and repaſs to the enriching
" of your factories and your colonies. All theſe things
" you regulate, and you carry on for your own ad-
" vantage. But what have you done for our preſerva-
" tion? What ſteps have you taken to remove from us
" the ſcourge that threatened us? Deprived of all au-
" thority, ſtripped of our property, weighed down by
" the terrible hand of power, we can only lift our hands
" to you to implore your aſſiſtance. Ye have heard
" our groans; ye have ſeen famine making very quick
" advances upon us; and then ye attended to your own
" preſervation. Ye have hoarded up the ſmall quan-
" tity of proviſions which eſcaped the peſtilence; ye
" have filled your granaries with them, and diſtributed
" them among your ſoldiers. But we, the ſad dupes
" of your avarice, wretches in every regard, as well
" by your tyranny as by your indifference, ye treat us
" like ſlaves, while you ſuppoſe we have any riches;
" but when it appears we are but a ſet of beings full of
" wants, then you no longer regard us even as human
" creatures. Of what ſervice is it to us that you have
" the management of our public forces entirely in your
" hands? Where are the laws and the morals of which
" ye are ſo proud? What then is that government
" whoſe wiſdom you ſo much boaſt of? Have you put
" a ſtop

"a ſtop to the prodigious exports carried by your private traders? Have ye changed the deſtination of your ſhips? Have they traverſed the neighbouring ſeas in ſearch of the means of ſubſiſtence for us? Have ye requeſted it of the adjacent countries? Ah, why has Providence ſuffered you to break the chain which attached us to our ancient ſovereigns? Leſs graſping, and more humane than ye are, they would have invited plenty from all parts of Aſia; they would have opened every communication; they would have laviſhed their treaſures, and have thought they did but enrich themſelves while they preſerved their ſubjects."

This laſt reflection, at leaſt, was calculated to make an impreſſion on the Engliſh, ſuppoſing even that every ſentiment of humanity was extinguiſhed in their hearts by the effect of depravity. The barrenneſs had been announced by a drought; and it is not to be doubted, that, if inſtead of having ſolely a regard to themſelves, and remaining in an entire negligence of every thing elſe, they had from the firſt taken every precaution in their power, they might have accompliſhed the preſervation of many lives that were loſt.

It could not happen otherwiſe, than that an adminiſtration ſo faulty in itſelf ſhould defeat the means of proſperity attached to the poſſeſſion of thoſe extenſive countries. The company, preſſed by real neceſſities, and finding only inſufficient reſources in thoſe treaſures which ſerved to dazzle their imagination, has already been obliged to tear aſide the veil which concealed their ſituation from the eyes of all the world. According to a calculation, authenticated on the firſt of January 1773, the total amount of the company's poſſeſſions in Europe, whether in arrears hereafter to be received, or in real merchandiſe now in their ſtorehouſes, or even

in

BOOK III.

in immoveables, comes to the ſum of 175,156,000 livres (7,663,075*l.*): whereas their engagements amount to 207,430,000 livres (9,075,062*l.* 10*s.*); ſo that there is a deficiency of 32,274,000 livres (1,411,987*l.* 10*s.*). It is true, that the means of the company in India, that is to ſay, their ſpecie in the cheſts of their different ſettlements, outſtanding debts due to them, the value of their wares, their civil and military preparations, their elephants, ſhips and their cargoes at ſea, form a capital of 143,939,000 livres (6,297,331*l.* 5*s.*). On the other hand, their debts are not leſs than the ſum of 45,726,000 livres (2,000,462*l.* 10*s.*); ſo that upon the whole, of their affairs in India, there is a balance in their favour of 98,213,000 livres (3,798,068*l.* 15*s.*). From this muſt be deducted what the company owes in Europe, that is to ſay, 32,274,000 livres (1,411,987*l.* 10*s.*), which reduces the ſum of the general account to 65,939,000 livres (2,884,831*l.* 5*s.*); and as the amount of their ſtock is 72,000,000 livres (3,150,000*l.*); it follows, that on their capital, there is a real loſs of 6,061,000 livres (265,168*l.* 15*s.*). So that, in caſe all the effects of the company, as well in Europe as in India, could be converted into money, a ſuppoſition extremely in their favour, the proprietors would not find their original depoſit. Doubtleſs it was not eaſy to ſuſpect their ſituation to be ſuch, when we find the ſales of the company have progreſſively riſen from 44,000,000 livres (1,925,000*l.*), the amount of that in 1762, to 80,000,000 livres (3,500,000*l.*) according to the account of that of 1769. The trade of the company has been carried to ſuch a pitch, that the ſales for theſe laſt ten years, to 1771 incluſive, have produced the net ſum of 649,207,000 livres (28,402,806*l.* 5*s.*). But it is eſſential to remark, that during

during the ſaid period the company paid for different duties, to which their goods are ſubject, to the amount of 170,665,000 livres (7,466,593*l.* 15*s.*), that is more than five and twenty per cent. on the produce of the ſales. And ſtill this ſum, ſo conſiderable as it is, is excluſive of an annual ſtipend of 9,000,000 livres (393,750*l.*); on which condition, government has given up to the company all territorial rights over Bengal.

To make good engagements ſo extenſive, and to diſtribute at the ſame time to the proprietors a dividend of 9,000,000 livres (393,750*l.*), at the rate of twelve and a half per cent. The revenues of India ought to have been managed with great wiſdom and oeconomy: then they might have been ſufficient, as well for the purchaſes the company makes in India, as for thoſe made in China, and they might have waved ſending any ſums to their ſmall factories. It was with this confidence that the proprietors of ſtock enjoyed quietly their dividend, and even expected it to be raiſed by the importation of money which had been announced to them. But ſo far was the event from anſwering their large expectations, that the company's agents at Bengal, Bombay, and Madraſs, have continually drawn upon them to make good the inſufficiency of the revenues. The draughts drawn upon them during the laſt five years, viz. from 1768 to 1772, both incluſive, amount to the ſum of 49,250,000 livres (2,154,687*l.* 10*s.*). Theſe draughts have made it unneceſſary to ſend out coin to India; but during the ſame period they have been obliged to remit to China the ſum of 20,000,000 livres (875,000*l.*). And even this remittance not having been anſwerable to the prodigious purchaſes made for the company at Canton, the factory there

BOOK III.

there have been obliged to draw on them for 7,780,000 livres (340,875*l.*). The company, moreover, have exported to India, within the same time, as much as 60,140,000 livres (2,631,125*l.*) of merchandise; so that, bringing together all these sums, it appears, that during these five years, which seemed likely to be the period of their greatest prosperity, the company, whether by exportations abroad, or by draughts paid in Europe, has employed in trade 137,590,000 livres, (6,019,562*l.* 10*s.*) which makes the sum of 27,515,000 livres (1,203,912*l.*) *communibus annis*. However, notwithstanding this prodigious difference between the speculations and the real transactions, if the revenues of Bengal had not been subject to unparallelled depredation, the company might have been enabled to support with ease all their expences, and still continue a dividend of twelve and a half per cent. to the stockholders. The proof of this will appear in the abstract of their commerce, calculated upon the receipts and disbursements of the last years, on the experience of which it may be proper to ground our opinion of the actual state of things.

RECEIPT.

	Livres.
Produce of their sales, deducting discount,	78,750,000[a]
Produce of duties for the benefit of the company laid on private trade	560,000[b]
Value of 500 tons of saltpetre wanted annually for the army	500,000[c]
Total	79,810,000[d]

[a] 3445,312*l.* 10*s.* [b] 24,500*l.*
[c] 21,875*l.* [d] 3,447,937*l.* 10*s.*

DIS-

DISBURSEMENTS.

	Livres.	
Amount of duties — —	20,250,000	a
Freight and charges out —	11,250,000	b
Value of goods annually exported —	11,250,000	c
Amount of bullion exported to China, and of the draughts the factory there draws annually on the company	4,500,000	d
The impoſt of five per cent. on the rough produce of the annual ſales, ſet at eighty-four millions -	4,200,000	e
Bills of exchange taken from different parts of India —	8,080,000	f
Annual ſtipend to be paid to government on account of Bengal —	9,000,000	g
Annual dividend on the footing of twelve and a half per cent. per ann.	9,000,000	k
Intereſt of bills beyond what the company receives of government	1,120,000	i
Total	78,650,000	k

If, from the amount of the receipt ſtated at 79,810,000 livres, (3,491,687*l.* 10*s.*) we deduct the latter ſum of 78,650,000 livres, (3,440,937*l.* 10*s.*) the ſurplus of the receipt will be 1,160,000 livres, (50,750*l.*)

This ſtate, the ſeveral articles of which having undergone the inſpection of parliament cannot be call-

a 885,937*l.* 10*s.* b 492,187*l.* 10*s.* c 492187*l.* 10*s.*
d 196,875*l.* e 183,750*l.* f 353,500*l.*
g 393,750*l.* h 393750*l.* i 49,000*l.*
k 3,440,937*l.* 10*s.*

BOOK III.

ed in queſtion, ſerves to ſhew, that even ſuppoſing a wiſer adminiſtration, both at home and in India, the proprietors had no reaſon to expect any advantage beyond the dividend of twelve and a half per cent. which had been fixed for them.

But, if we aſcend from the particular intereſt of the trading company to conſiderations of more extent, what reſources, what advantage does not the commerce of India procure to the ſtate? The amount of duties on the company's importations, the impoſt of five per cent. on the rough produce of their ſales, the ſtipend exacted by government on account of Bengal, form a tribute of 33,450,000 livres (1,463,437*l.* 10*s.*) paid annually to Great Britain out of the commerce and poſſeſſions of Aſia. And ſo long as the public treaſure, ſupported by this new branch of revenue, turns it to the improvement of the power and proſperity of the kingdom, the annual maſs of riches is ſtill increaſed by the exports of the company's merchandiſe; by the charges of their navigation, by the benefit of the dividend at eight and a half above the common intereſt, by the draughts they pay, ſince theſe draughts are the repreſentatives of the fortunes made by their agents in their ſervice, and which they return home to enjoy. All theſe objects brought together conſtitute nearly a total of 40,000,000 livres, (1,750,000*l.*) expended on the commerce of India to the advantage of the land and manufactures of England: and yet this ſum of 40,000,000 livres, (1,750,000*l.*) together with the other of 33,450,000 livres, (1,463,437*l.* 10*s.*) received by the government, require no more than an export of 2, or 3,000,000 in bullion, (about 109,000*l.* on an average). Thus the purſe of the ſtate and the kingdom are equally enriched by the produce of a commerce, which by the good effect of a moſt extraordinary management,

threatens

threatens with ruin the very proprietors who farm it out to their agents.

It is eaſy to judge from the ſketch juſt given, that for a long time they muſt ſacrifice their dividends to clear away entirely that deficiency of 32,000,000 livres, (1,400,000*l.*) which has taken place in their affairs in Europe. But what will be attended with ſtill more difficulty will be, to revive in India the order and oeconomy neceſſary for diſcharging the debt of 45,000,000 livres (1,968,750*l.*) contracted there on the company's account.

We muſt allow that the corruption to which the Engliſh have given themſelves up from the firſt beginning of their power, the oppreſſion which has ſucceeded it, the abuſes every day multiplying, the entire loſs of all principle; all theſe circumſtances together form a contraſt totally diſagreeing with their paſt conduct in India, and the real conſtitution of their government in Europe. But this ſort of problem in morals will be eaſily ſolved, upon conſidering with attention the natural effect of circumſtances and events.

Being now become abſolute rulers in an empire where they were but traders, it was very difficult for the Engliſh not to make a bad uſe of their power. At a diſtance from home, men are no longer reſtrained by the fear of being aſhamed to ſee their countrymen. In a warm climate where the body loſes its vigour, the mind muſt loſe ſome of its force. In a country where nature and cuſtom lead to indulgence, men are apt to be ſeduced. In countries where they come for the purpoſe of growing rich, they eaſily forget to be upright.

Perhaps, however in a ſituation ſo dangerous, the Engliſh would have preſerved ſome appearance of moderation and virtue, had they been checked by the reſtraint of the laws: but there were none to direct or to bind

BOOK III.

them. The regulations made by the company for the carrying on of their commerce, did not apply to this new ſtate of things; and the Engliſh government conſidering the conqueſt of Bengal but as a help towards increaſing numerically the revenue of Great Britain, gave up to the company for 9,000,000 livres (393,750*l.*) per annum, the deſtiny of twelve millions of people.

HAPPILY for this portion of our fellow-creatures, a revolution of a peaceable nature is at hand. The nation has been ſtruck with ſuch enormous exceſſes. She has heard the groans of ſuch a number of victims ſacrificed to the avarice and paſſions of ſome individuals. The parliament is already employed on this great object. Every detail of that adminiſtration is under their inſpection, every fact will be cleared up, every abuſe unveiled, the reaſons of them inquired into and removed. What a ſight to be preſented to Europe! What an example to be left to poſterity! The hand of liberty is going to weigh the deſtiny of a whole people in the ſcale of juſtice.

YES, auguſt legiſlators, ye will make good our expectations! Ye will reſtore humanity to her rights, ye will put a curb on avarice, and break the yoke of tyranny. The authority of law, which is not to be ſhaken, will every where take place of an adminiſtration purely arbitrary. At ſight of that authority, the monopoliſt, that tyrant over induſtry, will for ever diſappear. The fetters which private intereſt has rivetted on commerce ye will make to give way to general advantage.

YOU will not confine yourſelves to this momentary reformation. You will carry your views into futurity; you will calculate the influence of climate, the danger of circumſtances, the contagion of example; and, to prevent their effects, you will ſelect perſons without connexions, without paſſions to viſit theſe diſtant countries,

tries; iſſuing from the boſom of your metropolis, they are to paſs through theſe provinces in order to hear complaints, rectify abuſes, redreſs injuries; in a word, to maintain and reunite the ties of order throughout the country.

By the execution of this ſalutary plan, you will, without doubt, have done much towards the happineſs of theſe people: but not enough for your own honour. One prejudice you have ſtill to conquer, and that victory is worthy of yourſelves. Venture to put your new ſubjects into a ſituation to enjoy the ſweets of property. Portion out to them the fields on which they were born: they will learn to cultivate them for themſelves. Attached to you by theſe favours, more than ever they were by fear, they will pay with joy the tribute you impoſe with moderation. They will inſtruct their children to adore, and admire your government; and ſucceſſive generations will tranſmit down with their inheritance, the ſentiments of their happineſs mixed with that of their gratitude.

Then ſhall the friends of humanity applaud your ſucceſs; they will incline to hope they may once more ſee proſperity revive in a country embelliſhed by nature, and no longer ravaged by deſpotiſm. It will be pleaſing to them to think that the calamities which afflicted thoſe fertile countries are for ever removed from them. They will pardon in you thoſe uſurpations, which have been only for the deſpoiling of tyrants, and they will invite you to new conqueſts, when they ſee the influence of your ſublime conſtitution of government extending itſelf even to the very extremities of Aſia, to give birth to liberty, property and happineſs.

BOOK IV.

Voyages, ſettlements, wars and trade of the French in the Eaſt-Indies.

BOOK IV.

Ancient revolutions of commerce in France.

THE ancient Gauls, almoſt always at war with each other, had no other intercourſe together but ſuch as were ſuitable to ſavage nations, whoſe wants are always few. Their connections abroad were ſtill more circumſcribed. Some navigators from Vannes carried earthen-ware to Great Britain, where they bartered it for dogs, ſlaves, pewter and furs. Such of theſe articles as they could not diſpoſe of at home, were conveyed to Marſeilles, and there exchanged for wines, ſtuffs and ſpices, which were brought thither by traders from Italy or Greece.

THIS kind of traffic was not carried on by all the Gauls. It appears from Cæſar's account that the inhabitants of Belgia had prohibited the importation of all foreign commodities, as tending to corrupt their morals. They thought their own ſoil ſufficiently fruitful to anſwer all their wants. The Celtic and Aquitanian Gauls were not ſo ſtrict. Their growing paſſion for foreign commodities, which they could be ſupplied with from the Mediterranean, but which they could not afford to purchaſe, induced them to apply to a kind of labour which they had never thought of before: they picked up all the gold duſt that was brought down

down with the ſand along the ſtream of ſeveral of their rivers.

THOUGH the Romans had neither a turn for trade, nor held it in any kind of eſtimation, it neceſſarily increaſed in Gaul, after they had ſubdued, and in ſome meaſure civilized it. Sea-ports were opened at Arles, Narbonne, Bourdeaux, and other places. Magnificent roads were every where made, the ruins of which we ſtill behold with aſtoniſhment. Every navigable river had its company of merchants, to whom conſiderable privileges were granted. Theſe were called *Nautes*, and were the agents and ſprings of a general circulation.

THIS riſing ſpirit was checked by the inroads of the Franks and other barbarous nations; nor was it reſtored to its former activity, even when theſe robbers had eſtabliſhed themſelves in their conqueſts. To their ſavage fury ſucceeded an unbounded paſſion for wealth, to gratify which, they had recourſe to every kind of oppreſſion. Every boat that came to a town was to pay ſo much for entrance, ſo much for the ſalute, ſo much for the bridge, ſo much for approaching the ſhore, ſo much for anchorage, ſo much for leave to unload, and ſo much for the ſtore-room. Land carriages were not more favourably treated, and were expoſed to the inſufferable tyranny of cuſtom-houſe officers who were diſperſed all over the country. Theſe exceſſes were carried ſo far, that ſometimes the goods brought to market did not fetch enough to pay the preliminary expences. A total diſcouragement was the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch enormities.

CLOYSTERS ſoon became the only places where induſtry prevailed, and manufactures were carried on. The monks were not then corrupted by idleneſs, intrigue, and debauchery. Uſeful labours filled up the

BOOK IV.

vacancies of an edifying and retired life. The moſt humble and robuſt of them ſhared the toils of agriculture with their ſervants. Thoſe to whom nature had imparted leſs ſtrength or more underſtanding, applied themſelves to the cultivation of the forlorn and abandoned arts. All of them in ſilence and retirement, were engaged in the ſervice of their country, whoſe ſubſtance their ſucceſſors have inceſſantly devoured and diſturbed its tranquillity.

DAGOBERT rouzed the ſpirit of his countrymen in the ſeventh century. Fairs were opened, to which the Saxons flocked with tin, and lead from England; the Jews with jewels, and gold or ſilver plate; the Sclavonians with all the metals of the north; traders from Lombardy, Provence and Spain, with the commodities of their reſpective countries, and thoſe they received from Africa, Egypt and Syria; and merchants of every province in the kingdom, with whatever their ſoil and their induſtry afforded. Unfortunately this proſperity was of a ſhort duration; it diſappeared under indolent kings, but revived under Charlemagne.

THAT prince, who might without flattery be ranked with the greateſt men recorded in hiſtory, had he not been ſometimes influenced by ſanguinary ſchemes of conqueſt, and ſullied with acts of perſecution and tyranny; ſeemed to follow the footſteps of thoſe firſt Romans, who made rural labours a relaxation from the fatigues of war. He applied himſelf to the care of his vaſt domains, with that cloſeneſs and ſkill which would hardly be expected from the moſt aſſiduous man in a private ſtation. All the great men of the ſtate followed his example, and devoted themſelves to huſbandry, and to thoſe arts which attend, or are immediately connected with it. From that period the French had plenty of their own productions to barter, and could

could with great eaſe make them circulate throughout the immenſe empire, which was then ſubject to their dominion.

So flouriſhing a ſituation preſented a freſh allurement to the Normans to indulge the inclination they had for piracy. Thoſe barbarians, accuſtomed to ſeek from plunder that wealth which their ſoil did not afford, poured out of their inhoſpitable climate in queſt of booty. They fell upon all the ſea-coaſts, but moſt eagerly upon thoſe of France, which promiſed the richeſt harveſt. The ravages they committed, the cruelties they exerciſed, the flames they kindled for a whole century in thoſe fertile provinces, cannot be remembered without horror. During that fatal period, they were wholly taken up with the thoughts of eſcaping ſlavery or death. There was no communication between the nations, and conſequently no trade.

In the mean-time the nobles, intruſted with the adminiſtration of the provinces, had inſenſibly made themſelves maſters of them, and had found means to make their authority hereditary. They had not, indeed, thrown off all dependence on the head of the empire, but retaining the modeſt appellation of vaſſals, they were not much leſs formidable to the ſtate than the king in the neighbourhood of its frontiers. They were confirmed in their uſurpations at the memorable æra, when the ſceptre was removed from the family of Charlemagne to that of the Capets. From that time there was no more national aſſembly, no tribunals, no laws, no government. In that fatal confuſion the ſword uſurped the place of juſtice, and the free citizens were forced to embrace ſervitude, to purchaſe the protection of a chief who was able to defend them.

Commerce could not poſſibly thrive under the fetters of ſlavery, and in the midſt of the continual diſturbances

BOOK IV.

ances occaſioned by the moſt cruel anarchy. Induſtry is the child of peace; nothing depreſſes it ſo much as ſervitude. Genius languiſhes when it is not animated by hope and emulation; and neither of theſe can ſubſiſt where there is no property. Nothing is a ſtronger recommendation of liberty, or more fully proves the rights of mankind, than the impoſſibility of working ſucceſsfully to enrich barbarous maſters.

SEVERAL of the kings of France entertained ſome ſuſpicion of this important truth; they attempted to abridge the power of theſe petty tyrants, who, by ruining theſe unfortunate vaſſals, kept up the calamities of the monarchy. St. Lewis was the firſt who introduced trade into the ſyſtem of government. Before his time it was only the work of chance and circumſtances. He brought it under the regulation of ſtated laws, and he himſelf drew up ſtatutes, which have ſerved as a model for thoſe that have ſince been enacted.

THESE firſt ſteps led the way to meaſures of greater importance. The old law, which forbad the exportation of all productions of the kingdom, was ſtill in force and agriculture was diſcouraged by this abſurd prohibition. The wiſe monarch removed theſe fatal impediments; expecting, not without reaſon, that a free exportation would reſtore to the nation thoſe treaſures which his imprudent expedition had laviſhed.

SOME political events ſeconded theſe ſalutary views. Before the reign of St. Lewis, the kings had but few ports on the ocean, and none on the Mediterranean. The northern coaſts were divided between the Counts of Flanders and the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Bretagne; the reſt belonged to the Engliſh. The ſouthern coaſts were poſſeſſed by the Counts of Toulouſe, and the Kings of Majorca, Arragon, and Caſtile. By this repartition, the inland provinces had little

or

no communication with the foreign markets. The ion of the county of Toulouſe with the crown re- oved this great obſtacle, at leaſt for that part of the rench territory.

PHILIP, the ſon of S. Lewis, deſirous of improving is kind of conqueſt, endeavoured to draw to Niſmes, city under his juriſdiction, part of the trade carried at Montpellier which belonged to the king of Arra- n. The privileges he granted produced the deſired fect; but it was ſoon found to be an object of little nſequence. The Italians ſupplied the kingdom with ices, perfumes, ſilks, and all the rich ſtuffs of the aſt. The arts had not made ſuch progreſs in France to afford their own manufactures in exchange; and e produce of agriculture was not ſufficient to de- y ſo many articles of luxury. So dear a conſump- n could only be ſupported by ready money, and there as but little in the kingdom, eſpecially ſince the Cru- des, though France was not ſo poor as moſt of the her European nations.

PHILIP, ſurnamed le Bel, was ſenſible of theſe truths; e found means to improve agriculture, ſo as to anſwer e demands of foreign importations, and theſe he re- uced by eſtabliſhing new manufactures, and improv- g the old ones. Under this reign the miniſtry firſt ndertook to guide the hand of the artiſt, and to di- ct his labours. The breadth, the quality, and the reſſing of the cloths was fixed; the exportation of ool was prohibited; which the neighbouring nations ame to purchaſe, in order to manufacture it. Theſe ere the beſt meaſures that could be taken in thoſe mes of ignorance.

SINCE that period the arts advanced in their progreſs proportion to the decay of feudal tyranny. The rench, however, did not begin to form their taſte till

BOOK IV.

till the time of their expeditions into Italy. They were dazzled with a thouſand new objects that preſented themſelves at Genoa, Venice, and Florence. The ſtrictneſs obſerved by Anne of Bretagne, under the reigns of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. at firſt reſtrained the conquerors from giving full ſcope to their propenſity for imitation; but no ſooner had Francis I. called up the women to court, no ſooner had Catharine of Medicis croſſed the Alps, than the great affected an elegance unknown before, ſince the firſt foundation of the monarchy. The whole nation was led by this alluring example of luxury, and the improvement of the manufactures was the natural conſequence.

FROM Henry II. to Henry IV. the civil wars, the unhappy diviſions of religion, the ignorance of government, the ſpirit of finance which began to have its influence in the council, the barbarous and devouring avarice of men in buſineſs encouraged by the protection they enjoyed; all theſe ſeveral cauſes retarded the progreſs of induſtry, but could never deſtroy it. It revived with freſh ſplendour under the frugal adminiſtration of Sully. It was almoſt extinguiſhed under thoſe of Richelieu and Mazarine, both governed by the farmers of the revenue; one wholly taken up with his ambition for empire and his ſpirit of revenge, the other with intrigue and plunder.

First voyage of the French to the East Indies.

No king of France had ever ſeriouſly conſidered the advantages that might accrue from a trade to India, nor had the emulation of the French been rouſed by the luſtre which other nations derived from it. They conſumed more eaſtern productions than any other nation; they were as favourably ſituated for fetching them from the firſt hand; and yet they were content to pay to foreign induſtry what their own might as well have ſhared.

SOME

SOME merchants of Rouen had ventured, indeed, in 1535, upon a ſmall armament; but Genonville, who commanded the expedition, met with violent ſtorms at the Cape of Good Hope, was caſt upon unknown lands, and with much difficulty got back to Europe.

IN 1601 a ſociety formed in Bretagne fitted out two ſhips, to endeavour to get a ſhare, if poſſible, of the riches of the Eaſt, which the Portugueſe, the Engliſh, and the Dutch, were contending for. Pyrard, who commanded theſe ſhips, arrived at the Maldivia iſlands, and did not return to his own country till after an unfortunate navigation of ten years.

A NEW company, headed by one Girard, a native of Flanders, fitted out ſome ſhips from Normandy for the iſland of Java, in 1616 and 1619. They returned with cargoes ſufficient to defray the adventurers, but not enough to encourage them to any freſh undertakings.

CAPTAIN Reginon, upon the expiration of this fruitleſs grant in 1633, prevailed upon ſome merchants of Dieppe two years after, to enter upon a track which might be productive of great riches, if properly purſued. Fortune baffled the endeavours of the new adventurers. The only advantage gained by theſe repeated expeditions was the high opinion that was conceived of the iſland of Madagaſcar, diſcovered by the Portugueſe in 1506.

THIS gave riſe to a company in 1642, which was to make a conſiderable ſettlement on that iſland, to ſecure to their ſhips the neceſſary helps for ſailing further.

Settlement of the French at Madagaſcar. Deſcription of that iſland.

UPON a ſurvey of the iſland, it was found to be ſituated along the eaſtern coaſt of Africa; that it was three hundred and thirty-ſix leagues long, and one hundred and twenty broad in in the wideſt part, and about eight hundred in circumference. By whatever wind a ſhip is brought there, nothing but dreary and barren ſands

are

BOOK IV.

are to be ſeen; but at a greater diſtance from the ſhore the ſoil is ſometimes black, ſometimes reddiſh, moſtly fruitful, and every where watered by a great number of rivers. Vegetation is here very quick, and requires little labour; nature produces rice, potatoes, bananas, pine-apples, indigo, hemp, cotton, ſilk, ſugar, palm-trees, cocoa-trees, orange-trees, gum-trees, and woods fit for building, and for every art. The paſtures are excellent, and are covered with oxen of the largeſt kind, and ſheep exactly reſembling thoſe of Barbary.

The iſland of Madagaſcar is divided into a great many provinces; each of them has a chief called Dian, which anſwers to the word Lord. All the enſigns of his dignity are his ſlaves and his flocks. His place is hereditary, but, in default of heirs, it devolves upon the eldeſt of his delegates. His council is compoſed of ſome of ſuch magiſtrates as he makes choice of, and the reſt, which is the greateſt number, reſide in the villages to preſerve peace, and adminiſter juſtice. He can neither declare war without their conſent, nor ſupport it without the voluntary contributions and actual aſſiſtance of his people.

Such is the general form of government in the iſland; the province of Anoſſi alone differs from it, having been poſſeſſed by the Arabs for ſeveral centuries paſt. Though few in number, they ſoon became the ſtrongeſt, and divided the country into twenty-two diſtricts, each of which had a maſter of their own nation, to whom they gave the name of Boandrian, or deſcendant of Abraham. Theſe petty ſovereigns are continually at war with each other, but never fail to unite againſt the other princes of Madagaſcar, who hold them in deteſtation, as being foreigners and uſurpers. This is of all the iſland that part which is the moſt deſtitute of morals, activity, induſtry and bravery, becauſe it is the only one where there is no liberty.

Some

SOME of the French ſettled at Fort Dauphin in the country of Anoſſi, have lately in their excurſions diſcovered a new race of men, called Kimos, the talleſt of whom are not above four feet high. They inhabit about forty villages in the interior parts, on the north-weſt ſide of the iſland. They are ſaid to be more miſchievous than their neighbours, and, what appears very extraordinary, not ſo cowardly. They never ſtir out of their mountains, nor ſuffer any one to penetrate into them.

THE other inhabitants of Madagaſcar are tall, nimble, and of a haughty countenance. They will maſk a deep deſign, or a ſtrong paſſion under a ſmiling face, as artfully as any knave in a civilized nation. They are ignorant of the origin of their laws, but obſerve them with great uniformity. The old men, who are intruſted with the care of enforcing them, never take any fee for the trial of a criminal, and think themſelves ſufficiently rewarded if they can rid their country of a malefactor. In civil cauſes the parties bring them ſo many head of cattle, in proportion to the importance of the affair.

THE offence that is moſt frequently brought before theſe magiſtrates is theft. Though it is cuſtomary to bore the hand of the thief, theſe people have a univerſal propenſity to robbery. The inhabitants, ever afraid for their property, live in continual miſtruſt of each other. For their mutual ſecurity they ſeal their engagements with the moſt ſolemn oaths. They are ſo accuſtomed to theſe formalities, that they practiſe them even when they treat with Europeans. On theſe important occaſions, he who repreſents the nation puts into a veſſel filled with brandy, gold, ſilver, gun-flint, if poſſible ſome of the duſt of the tomb of his anceſtors, and frequently blood, which, after the manner of the ancient Scythians, the parties draw out of their arms by inciſion. During theſe preparatives, their weapons are laid on the ground in the form of a croſs. Soon after, both parties

BOOK IV.

ties pick them up, and hold them with the point in the cup, conſtantly ſtirring the contents till the agreement is made. Then the contracting parties, the witneſſes, and the ſpectators, all drink out of the cup till it is empty, after which they embrace and withdraw.

RELIGIOUS principles are no check upon the people of Madagaſcar. Though in general they admit the prevailing doctrine of the two principles, they have but a confuſed notion of it, nor have they any worſhip whatever. Notwithſtanding this indifference, they are addicted to every kind of ſuperſtition. In their uncouth notions of aſtrology they ſee nothing, nor imagine any thing, but what they connect with futurity.

THE moſt dangerous of all their prejudices is, doubtleſs, the diſtinction between lucky and unlucky days. They inhumanly put to death all children born under the unlucky day. This deſtructive principle is one cauſe among many others which prevents the population of this country.

THOSE who do not fall victims to this cruel ſuperſtition are circumciſed at the age of two years, or twenty-four moons, as they expreſs it. The ceremony is performed with all poſſible ſolemnity. While the operation is performing, one of the child's parents holds a cup under the ſacred knife; and the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the uncles ſwallows the part of the prepuce that has been cut off. The reſt of the family, and the by-ſtanders, dip a finger into the blood, and taſte it. Theſe ſingular myſteries are concluded with feſtivity, dancing, and pleaſures of all kinds.

THE people of Madagaſcar never receive any kind of education, and marry as ſoon as they attain to the ſtate of manhood. A man of the lower ſort, even a ſlave, takes as many wives as he pleaſes, or as many as he can find. The better ſort have but one lawful wife, but, in order to vary their pleaſures, they keep concubines. They all put away

away their wives whenever they diſlike them, and both par- BOOK
ties are at full liberty to marry again, or to remain ſingle. IV.

THE people of Madagaſcar lead an idle and diſſolute life, and ſeldom arrive at old age. An unwholeſome climate, bad food, conſtant debauchery, the want of proper aſſiſtance, together with other cauſes, concur to haſten their end. When a man dies, the whole neighbourhood is apprized of it by lamentations, expreſſed in an inceſſant mournful ſinging. The relations meet, and partake of the moſt profuſe entertainments, whilſt the moſt affectionate of the ſlaves keeps aſking the deceaſed, "What could induce him to quit all that was dear to him." After eight days the corpſe is buried with his choiceſt jewels; nor is he then forgotten. The reſpect for anceſtors is incredible in thoſe barbarous regions. It is no uncommon thing to ſee men of all ages go and weep over the tombs of their fathers, and aſk their advice in the moſt important occurrences of life.

THE common food of the inhabitants of Madagaſcar is rice, which multiplies a hundred fold, in ſpite of the worſt of culture. Their drink is a kind of mead, and wine made with ſugar and banana. Their greateſt finery is a piece of cloth over their ſhoulders, and another round their waiſt.

MADAGASCAR had been viſited by the Portugueſe, the Dutch, and the Engliſh, who had deſpiſed it, finding none of thoſe objects which brought them to the eaſt. The French, who ſeemed to have no determinate object in view, ſpent that capital they had reſerved for the purpoſe of trade, in ſubduing the iſland. They found ſome gold ſcattered in one corner of the iſland, and directly concluded their muſt be gold mines, never ſuſpecting that it might have been brought thither by the Arabs. They were puniſhed for their greedineſs by the loſs of their whole ſtock. At the expiration of their grant they had nothing left but a few tenements,

BOOK IV.

ſituated in five or ſix different parts of the coaſt built of boards covered with leaves, ſurrounded with ſtakes, and decorated with the pompous name of forts, becauſe they mounted a few bad pieces of cannon. Their defenders were reduced to about a hundred robbers, who, by their cruelties, daily increaſed the hatred conceived againſt their nation. The whole of their conqueſts amounted to a few ſmall diſtricts, forſaken by the natives, and ſome few larger cantons, from whence they forcibly extorted a tribute of proviſions.

MARSHAL de la Meilleraie ſeized upon theſe ruins, and conceived the project of reſtoring this ill-conducted undertaking for his own private emolument. His ſucceſs was ſo indifferent, that his property ſold but for 20,000 livres (875*l.*) which was full as much as it was worth.

AT laſt, in 1664, Colbert preſented to Lewis XIV. a plan for an Eaſt India company. Agriculture was then ſo flouriſhing in France, and induſtry ſo briſk, that this branch of commerce ſeemed to be needleſs. The miniſter was of a different opinion; he foreſaw that the other European nations would follow his example, and ſet up manufactures of their own, and would have their Eaſtern connections beſides. This was conſidered as a very deep thought, and an Eaſt India Company was accordingly created, veſted with all the privileges enjoyed by the Dutch Eaſt India Company. They even went further. Colbert, conſidering that in order to carry on great commercial undertakings there muſt always be a certain confidence in republics, which cannot be expected in monarchies, had recourſe to every expedient that could produce it.

THE charter was granted for fifty years, that the company might be encouraged to form great ſettlements, with a proſpect of reaping the fruits of them.

All foreigners advancing 20,000 livres, (875*l.*) were to be deemed Frenchmen, without being naturalized.

On the like terms, officers, whatever corps they belonged to, were excuſed from reſidence, without forfeiting the rights of their poſt, or their pay.

Whatever was wanted for the building, arming or victualling of the ſhips, was to be entered duty free, and be excuſed all duties to the admiralty.

The government engaged to pay fifty livres (2*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*) per ton for all goods exported from France to India, and ſeventy-five livres (3*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* ½.) for every ton imported from thence.

The government entered into engagements to convoy their outward and homeward bound ſhips, with as ſtrong a ſquadron as exigencies ſhould require.

The reigning paſſion of the nation was made ſubſervient to this eſtabliſhment. Special honours and hereditary titles were promiſed to ſuch as ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice of the company.

As trade was yet in its infancy in France, and was unable to furniſh the fifteen millions (above 656,200*l.*) that were to conſtitute the ſtock of the new ſociety, the miniſtry engaged to lend as far as three millions. (131,250*l.*) The nobles, the magiſtrates, all orders of men were invited to ſhare the reſt. The nation, proud to pleaſe their king, who had not yet cruſhed them with the weight of his falſe greatneſs, came into the propoſal with great eagerneſs.

The perſiſting in the reſolution of forming a ſettlement at Madagaſcar deprived the company of the benefit of the firſt voyage. They were at length obliged to relinquiſh that iſland, whoſe ſavage and unconquerable inhabitants could not be reconciled either to the commodities, the worſhip, or the manners of Europe.

BOOK IV.

At that period it was, that the company's ships began to sail directly to India. By the intrigues of Marcara, a native of Ispahan, but in the French service, they obtained leave to establish factories on several places on the coast of the peninsula. They even attempted to secure a share of the Japan trade. Colbert offered to send none but protestants, but by the artifices of the Dutch, the French were denied an entrance into that empire, as the English had been before.

The French make Surat the center of their trade. Account of this famous city, and of the province of Guzarat, in which it is situated.

Surat had been pitched upon for the center of all the business which the company was to carry on in those parts. It was from that capital of Guzarat that all orders were to be issued out for the subaltern settlements. There all goods destined for Europe were to be brought.

Guzarat forms a peninsula between the Indus and Malabar. It is about one hundred and sixty miles in length, and much the same in breadth. It is separated from the kingdom of Agra by the mountains of Marva. It rains there incessantly from June to September; at all other times, scarce a cloud is to be seen. The burning heat of the sun, however, is happily tempered by refreshing dews, which cool the air and moisten the ground. The richness of a soil abounding in corn, rice, sugar, cotton, cattle, game, fruits of all kinds in an uninterrupted succession, added to variety of important manufactures, was sufficient for the happiness of the inhabitants; when, in the beginning of the eighth century, strangers came and introduced new branches of industry among them.

Some Persians, who were persecuted for their opinions by the Saracens their conquerors, took refuge in the isle of Ormus, whence they sailed some time after for India, and landed at Diu. In this asylum they continued but nineteen years, and then embarked again. They

They were driven by the winds upon a pleaſant ſhore between Daman and Bacaim. The prince who governed that country, conſented to admit them among his ſubjects, on condition that they ſhould reveal the myſteries of their belief, that they ſhould lay down their arms, that they ſhould ſpeak the Indian language, that their women ſhould go abroad unveiled, and that they ſhould celebrate their nuptials at the cloſe of the evening, according to the cuſtom of the country. As theſe ſtipulations contained nothing repugnant to their religious notions, the people who fled there for protection agreed to them. A piece of ground was allotted them, where they built a town, whence they ſoon ſpread farther up the country.

A HAPPY neceſſity had made them contract a habit of labour, ſo that both the lands and the manufactures proſpered in their hands. They were ſo wiſe as not to interfere with government or war, and enjoyed profound tranquillity in the midſt of all the revolutions that happened from time to time. In conſequence of this circumſpection, and of the affluence in which they lived, they multiplied very faſt. They always remained a ſeparate people, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Parſis, never intermarrying with the Indians, and adhering to the principles which had occaſioned their baniſhment. Their tenets were thoſe of Zoroaſter, ſomewhat altered by time, ignorance, and the rapaciouſneſs of the prieſts.

THE proſperity of Guzarat, partly owing to the exiled Perſians, excited the ambition of two formidable powers. Whilſt the Portugueſe annoyed it by the ſea ſide by the ravages they commited, by the victories they gained, and by the conqueſt of Diu juſtly eſteemed the bulwark of the kingdom; the Moguls, already maſters of the north of India, and eager to advance towards the ſouthern parts where trade and riches were to be found, threatened it from the continent.

BOOK IV.

BADUR, a Patan by birth, who then reigned over Guzarat, ſaw how impoſſible it would be for him at once to withſtand two ſuch enemies, both bent upon his deſtruction. He thought he had leſs to fear from a people whoſe forces were parted from their dominions by immenſe ſeas, than from a nation firmly ſettled on the frontiers of his provinces. This conſideration made him determine to be friends with the Portugueſe. The conceſſions he made them even induced them to join with him againſt Akebar, whoſe activity and courage they dreaded little leſs than himſelf.

THIS alliance diſconcerted men who thought they had only Indians to deal with. They could not think of engaging with Europeans, who were reputed invincible. The natives, not yet recovered from the conſternation into which theſe conquerors had thrown them, repreſented them to the Mogul ſoldiers, as men come down from heaven, or riſen from the waters, of a ſpecies infinitely ſuperior to the Aſiatics, and far ſurpaſſing them in valour, genius and knowledge. The army ſeized with a panic, was urging the generals to march back to Delhi, when Akebar, convinced that a prince who undertakes a great conqueſt muſt command his own troops, haſtened to his camp. He did not heſitate to promiſe his troops that they ſhould beat a people enervated by luxury, riches, pleaſures, and the heat of the climate; and that the glory of purging Aſia of that handful of banditti was reſerved for them. The army, in freſh ſpirits, applauded the emperor and marched on with confidence. They ſoon came to an engagement; the Portugueſe, ill ſeconded by their allies, were ſurrounded and cut to pieces. Badur fled, and diſappeared for ever. All the cities of Guzarat haſtened to open their gates to the conqueror. This fine kingdom in 1565, became a province of that vaſt empire which was ſoon to invade all Indoſtan.

UNDER

UNDER the Mogul government, which was then in its full glory, Guzarat enjoyed more tranquillity than before. The manufactures were multiplied at Cambaya, Amabadat, Broitſchia, and ſeveral other places. New ones were ſet up in thoſe towns which were yet unacquainted with this induſtry. The culture of lands was improved, and their productions increaſed. That part of Malabar which borders upon Guzarat, long ſince tired of the impoſitions of the Portugueſe, brought their linen cloths thither. The goods manufactured on the banks of the Indus were likewiſe ſent to this country, as they could not conveniently be conveyed down the river, as the ſtream is too rapid above to land them, and below, the waters diſcharge into the ſea by ſo many ſtreams, that they are in a manner loſt in the ſands.

ALL theſe riches centered at Surat, which ſtands on the river Tapta, a few miles from the ocean. This city was indebted for this advantage to a fort, which protected the merchants, and to its harbour, the beſt on that coaſt, though not an excellent one. The Moguls, who had then no other maritime town, drew all their articles of luxury from thence, and the Europeans who had not yet any of the great ſettlements they have ſince made at Bengal and on the coaſt of Coromandel, bought moſt of their Indian commodities at that place. They were all collected there, as the people of Surat had taken care to procure a navy ſuperior to that of their neighbours.

THEIR ſhips, which laſted for ages, were for the moſt part of a thouſand or twelve hundred tons burthen. They were built of a very ſtrong wood called Teak. Far from launching them with a coſtly apparatus and complicated engines, they let in the tide into the dock, and it ſet them afloat. The cordage was made of the bark of the cocoa-tree; they were rough-

BOOK IV.

er and leſs pliable than ours, but at leaſt as ſolid. Their cotton ſails were neither ſo ſtrong nor ſo laſting as our hempen ones, but more pliable and leſs apt to ſplit. Inſtead of pitch, they made uſe of the gum of a tree called Damar, which is, perhaps, better. The ſkill of their officers, though but moderate, was ſufficient for thoſe ſeas and thoſe ſeaſons in which they ſailed. As to their ſailors, called Laſcars, the Europeans have found them good ones for their voyages from one part of India to another. They have even been employed ſucceſsfully in bringing home into our ſtormy latitudes ſuch ſhips as had loſt their crew.

So many united advantages had brought to Surat a great concourſe of Moguls, Indians, Perſians, Arabs, Armenians, Jews and Europeans. We hardly ſuſpected that there was ſuch a thing as commercial principles, and they were already known and practiced in this part of Aſia. The value of money was very low, and it was eaſily obtained; and bills of exchange might be had for every market in India. Inſurances for the moſt diſtant navigations were much in vogue. Such was the honeſty of theſe traders, that bags of money ticketed and ſealed by the bankers would circulate for years, without ever being counted or weighed. Fortunes were proportionable to the eaſe with which they were to be acquired by induſtry. Thoſe of five or ſix millions (about 240,000l. on an average.) were not uncommon, and ſome were even more conſiderable.

These fortunes were moſtly poſſeſſed by the Banians, a ſet of traders who were noted for their honeſty. A few moments were enough for them to tranſact the moſt important buſineſs. In the moſt intricate diſcuſſions, they preſerved an evenneſs of temper and a politeneſs which can hardly be conceived.

Their children, who aſiſted at all bargains, were early trained up to this gentleneſs of manners. Scarce had

had they a dawning of reaſon, but they were initiated into all the myſteries of trade. It was a common thing to ſee a child of ten or twelve years old, able to ſupply his father's place. What a contraſt, what a diſtance between this and the education of our children; and yet, what a difference between the attainments of the Indians, and the progreſs of our knowledge!

SUCH of the Banians as had Abyſſinian ſlaves, and very few of theſe good natured men had any, treated them with ſuch humanity as muſt appear very ſingular to us. They brought them up as if they had been of their own family, trained them to buſineſs, advanced them money to enable them to trade for themſelves, and not only ſuffered them to enjoy the profits, but even allowed them to diſpoſe of them in favour of their deſcendents if they had any.

THE expences of the Banians were not proportioned to their fortunes. As they were reſtrained by the principles of their religion from eating meat or drinking ſtrong liquors, they lived upon fruits, and a few plain diſhes. They never departed from this frugality but upon the ſettlement of their children. On this ſingle occaſion, no coſt was ſpared for the entertainment, or for the muſic, dancing and fireworks. Their whole ambition was to tell how much the wedding had coſt. Sometimes it amounted to a hundred thouſand crowns. (13,125*l.*)

THEIR very women had a taſte for this ſimplicity of manners. All their glory conſiſted in pleaſing their huſbands. Perhaps, the great veneration in which they held the nuptial tie aroſe from the cuſtom of engaging them in their earlieſt infancy. That ſentiment was in their opinion the moſt ſacred part of religion. Never did they allow themſelves the leaſt converſation with ſtrangers. Leſs reſerve would not have ſatisfied their huſbands, who could not hear, without aſtoniſhment,

BOOK IV.

ment, of the familiarity that prevailed between the two ſexes in Europe. When they were told that this freedom was attended with no ill conſequence, they were not convinced, but ſhook their heads, and anſwered by one of their proverbs, which ſignifies, *That if you bring butter too near the fire, you can hardly keep it from melting.*

EXCEPTING the Moguls, who were in poſſeſſion of all places under the government, who were very extravagant in their ſtables, their baths and their ſeraglios, and ran into every kind of indulgence to drown the ſenſe of the deſpotiſm under which they lived, all the merchants of Surat conformed to the frugality of the Banians, as far as the difference of religion would admit. Their greateſt expence was the decorating of their houſes.

THESE were contrived in the beſt manner to guard againſt the heat of the climate. The outſide walls were covered with beautiful wainſcoting, and the inſide ones inlaid with porcelain. The panes of their windows were of ſhell or mother of pearl, which tempered the glare of the ſun without too much obſtructing the light. The apartments were prettily diſpoſed and furniſhed, ſuitably to the cuſtoms of the country; and in one of the rooms was a fountain of water, ſpouting up from a marble baſon, whoſe gentle murmurs invited the company to ſoft ſlumbers.

DURING their repoſe, the common indulgence of the inhabitants of Surat was to ſtretch themſelves upon a ſopha, where they were rubbed by men of ſingular dexterity, or rather kneaded like dough. The neceſſity of promoting the circulation of the fluids, too often retarded by the heat of the climate, firſt ſuggeſted the notion of this operation, which affords them an infinite variety of delightful ſenſations. They fall into ſuch a tender ſtate of langour, that they ſometimes almoſt faint away. This cuſtom was ſaid to be brought to the Indies from China; and ſome epigrams of Martial

tial and declamations of Seneca, ſeem to hint that it was not unknown to the Romans at the time when they refined upon every pleaſure, as the tyrants who enſlaved thoſe maſters of the world afterwards refined upon every torture.

THEY had another ſpecies of pleaſure at Surat, which, perhaps, our effeminacy would have envied them ſtill more, and this was their female dancers whom the Europeans call Balliaderes, a name given them by the Portugueſe.

NUMBERS of theſe are collected together in ſeminaries of pleaſure. The better ſort of theſe ſocieties are devoted to the richeſt and moſt frequented Pagodas. Their deſtination is to dance in the temples on their great feſtivals, and to be ſubſervient to the pleaſures of the Bramins. Theſe prieſts, who have not taken the artful and deceitful vow of renouncing all, that they may the more freely partake of every enjoyment, chuſe rather to have women of their own, than at once to defile celibacy and wedlock. They do not invade another man's right by adultery, but are jealous of the dancers, whoſe worſhip and vows they ſhare with the gods; but they never ſuffer them without reluctance to contribute to the amuſement of kings and great men.

THE riſe of this ſingular inſtitution is not known. Probably, one Bramin who had a concubine or a wife, aſſociated with another Bramin, who had likewiſe his concubine or his wife; and in proceſs of time, the mixture of ſo many Bramins and women occaſioned ſuch confuſion, that the women came to be common to all thoſe prieſts. Let but a number of ſingle perſons of both ſexes be collected into one cloyſter, and a commonality of men and women will ſoon take place.

THIS freedom, we may ſuppoſe, put an end to jealouſy. The women were not uneaſy at the increaſe of their

BOOK IV.

numbers, nor the Bramins at that of their order. It was rather a new conqueſt than a rivalſhip.

We may likewiſe ſuppoſe, that in order to palliate this licentiouſneſs in the eyes of the people, all thoſe women were conſecrated to the ſervice of the altars. It is no leſs probable that the people readily conſented to this kind of ſuperſtition, as it inſured the ſafety of their wives and daughters, by confining the lawleſs deſires of the monks to one particular ſpot.

The contrivance of ſtamping a ſacred character upon theſe courtezans, might make parents the more willing to part with their beautiful daughters, and to conſent that they ſhould follow their calling, and devote themſelves to theſe ſeminaries, from whence the ſuperannuated women might return to ſociety without diſgrace: for there is no crime that may not be ſanctified by the intervention of the gods. The moſt ſacred truths may be perverted by wicked men to the worſt of purpoſes. The very notion of a Supreme Being may, in the hands of a crafty prieſt, be made ſubverſive of all morality. He will affirm, not that ſuch a thing is pleaſing to the gods, becauſe it is good; but that ſuch a thing is good, becauſe it is pleaſing to the gods.

The Bramins wanted only to gain another point in order to complete this inſtitution, which was to perſuade the people that it was decent, holy, and pleaſing to all the gods, to marry a balladiere, in preference to all other women, and thereby induce them to ſolicit the relics of their debaucheries as a ſpecial favour.

In every city there are other companies, not ſo choice as the former, for the amuſement of the rich. The Moors and Gentiles may equally procure a ſight of their dancers at their country houſes, or in their public aſſemblies. There are even ſtrolling companies of them, conducted by old women, who having been themſelves trained up theſe ſeminaries, are promoted in time to the direction of them.

THEEE handſome girls have the ſhocking cuſtom of being always followed by an old deformed muſician, perhaps, as a foil, whoſe employment is to beat time with an inſtrument of braſs, which we have lately borrowed of the Turks, to add to our military muſic, and which in the Indies is called a tam. The man who holds it, is continually repeating that word with ſuch vehemence, that by degrees he works himſelf up into dreadful convulſions, whilſt the balladieres, intoxicated with the deſire of pleaſing, and the ſweets with which they are perfumed, at length loſe their ſenſes.

THEIR dances are, in general, love pantomimes: the plan, the deſign, the attitudes, the time, the airs, the cadence, all is expreſſive of this paſſion, with all its raptures and extravagancies.

EVERY thing conſpires to the amazing ſucceſs of theſe voluptuous women: the art and richneſs of their attire, as well as their ingenuity in ſetting off their beauty. Their long black hair falling over their ſhoulders, or braided and turned up, is loaded with diamonds and tuck with flowers. Their necklaces and bracelets are enriched with precious ſtones. Even their noſe jewels, that ornament which ſhocks us at firſt ſight, is wonderfully pleaſing; ſets off all the other ornaments by the charms of ſymmetry, and has an effect which cannot be explained, but is felt in time.

NOTHING can equal the care they take to preſerve their breaſts as one of the moſt ſtriking marks of their beauty. To prevent them from growing large or ill-ſhaped, they incloſe them in two caſes made of an exceeding light wood which are joined together, and buckled behind. Theſe caſes are ſo ſmooth and ſo ſupple, that they give way to the various attitudes of the body, without being flattened, and without injuring the delicacy of the ſkin. The outſide of theſe caſes is covered with

a leaf of gold, ſtudded with diamonds. This is certainly the moſt refined kind of ornament, and the beſt calculated to preſerve beauty. They take off, and put it on again with ſingular facility. This covering does not prevent one from ſeeing the palpitations, ſighings and tender emotions of the breaſt: it conceals nothing that can contribute to excite deſire.

MOST of theſe dancers imagine it an addition to the beauty of their complexion, and the impreſſion of their looks, to trace a black circle round their eyes with a hair bodkin dipped in the powder of antimony. This borrowed beauty, celebrated by all the eaſtern poets, appeared very odd at firſt to the Europeans, but cuſtom has reconciled them to it.

This art of pleaſing is the whole life, the whole employment, the whole felicity of the balladieres. It is hard to reſiſt their ſeducing manners. They even obtain a preference over thoſe beauties of Caſſimere, which fill the ſeraglios of Indoſtan, as the fair Georgians and Circaſſians fill thoſe of Iſpahan and Conſtantinople. The modeſty, or rather the reſerve of proud ſlaves, ſequeſtered from the ſociety of men, cannot balance the arts of theſe expert courtezans.

THEY were no where ſo much in repute as at Surat, the richeſt, and moſt populous city in India. It began to decline in 1664. It was ſacked by the famous Sevagi, who carried off twenty-five or thirty millions. (About 1,200,000*l.* on an average.) The plunder would have been infinitely greater, had not the Engliſh and Dutch eſcaped the public diſaſter, by the care they had taken to fortify their factories, and had not the moſt valuable effects been lodged in the caſtle, which was out of the reach of attack. This loſs made the inhabitants more cautious. They ſurrounded the city with walls, to prevent the like diſaſter. The miſchief was repaired,

repaired, when the Engliſh, in 1686, were ſo unwarrantably and ſhamefully greedy, as to ſtop all the ſhips that were ſending out from Surat to the ſeveral ſeas. This piracy, which laſted three years, deprived this famous mart of almoſt every branch of trade that was not its own peculiar property. The town was nearly reduced to its own natural riches.

OTHER pirates have ſince infeſted thoſe latitudes, and from time to time diſturbed the operations of Surat. Their very caravans, that carried their merchandiſes to Agra, to Delhi, and all over the empire, were not reſpected by the ſubjects of the independent rajas, which they met with on the ſeveral roads. They had formerly had recourſe to a ſtrange contrivance for the ſecurity of their caravans, which was, to put them under the protection of a woman or a child of ſacred race, held ſuch by the nations they dreaded. When thoſe banditti approached to plunder the caravans, the guardian threatened to make away with herſelf if they perſiſted in their reſolution; and actually did ſo if they did not yield to her remonſtrances. Thoſe profligate men, who had not been reſtrained out of reſpect for ſacred blood, were excommunicated, degraded, and caſt out of their tribe. The dread of theſe ſevere puniſhments was ſometimes a check upon avarice; but ſince all has been in combuſtion in Indoſtan, no conſideration can allay the thirſt of gold.

NOTWITSTANDING all theſe misfortunes Surat is ſtill a great trading city. The produce of the numberleſs manufactures all over Guzarat is depoſited in her warehouſes. A great part is carried into the inland countries; the reſt is conveyed to all parts of the globe by an uninterrupted navigation. The moſt common

BOOK IV.

mon goods are dutties, a kind of coarſe unbleached cloth, worn in Perſia, Arabia, Abyſſinia, and the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, and blue linens, which are diſpoſed of in the ſame manner; and are likewiſe ſold to the Engliſh and Dutch for their Guinea trade.

THE blue and white checks of Cambaya, which are worn for mantles in Arabia and Turky: ſome are coarſe and ſome fine, and ſome even mixed with gold for the wear of the rich.

THE white linens of Broitſchia, ſo well known by the name of Baſras. As they are extremely fine, they make ſummer caftans for the Turks and Perſians. The ſort of muſlin, with a gold ſtripe at each end, with which they make their turbans, is manufactured at the ſame place.

THE printed linens of Amadabat; whoſe colours are as bright, as fine and as durable as thoſe of Coromandel. They are worn in Perſia, in Turky, and in Europe. The rich people of Java, Sumatra and the Molucca iſlands make pagnes and coverlids of theſe chintzes.

THE gauzes of Bairapour; the blue ones are worn by the common people in Perſia and Turky, for their ſummer cloathing, and the red ones by the better ſort. The Jews, who are not allowed by the Porte to wear white, make their turbans with theſe gauzes.

MIXED ſtuffs of ſilk and cotton, plain, ſtriped, ſome with ſattin ſtripes, ſome mixed with gold and ſilver. If they were not ſo dear, we ſhould like them even in Europe for the brightneſs of their colours, and the fine execution of the flowers, though their patterns are ſo indifferent. They ſoon wear out; but this is of no conſequence in the ſeraglios of Turky and Perſia, where the conſumption of them is made.

SOME

SOME are all ſilk, called tapis. Theſe are pagnes of ſeveral colours, much eſteemed in the eaſtern parts of India. Many more would be wove, were they not under a neceſſity of uſing foreign materials, which enhances the price too much.

SHAULE, very light, warm and fine cloths, made of the wool of Caſſimere. They are died of different colours, ſtriped and flowered. They are worn for a winter dreſs in Turky, Perſia, and the more temperate parts of India. With this precious wool they weave turbans, that are ell wide, and a little more than three ells long, which ſell from 2400 to 3600 livres. (about 130*l.* on an average.) Though it is ſometimes manufactured at Surat, the fineſt works of this kind are made at Caſſimere.

BESIDES the prodigious quantity of cotton made uſe of in the manufactures of Surat, ſeven or eight thouſand bales at leaſt are annually ſent to Bengal. Much more is ſent to China, Perſia and Arabia when the crops are very plentiful. If they are moderate, the overplus is carried down the Ganges, where it always fetches a better price.

THOUGH Surat receives in exchange for her exports, porcelain from China, ſilk from Bengal and Perſia; maſts and pepper from Malabar; gums, dates, dried fruits, copper and pearls from Perſia; perfumes and ſlaves from Arabia; great quantities of ſpices from the Dutch; iron, lead, cloth, cochineal, and ſome hard wares from the Engliſh; the balance is ſo much in her favour, as to bring in yearly twenty-five or twenty-ſix millions of livres (on an average about 1,116,000*l.*) in ready money. The profit would be much greater, if the ſource of the riches of the court of Delhi was not turned away.

HOWEVER, this balance could never again riſe to

BOOK IV.

what it was when the French ſettled at Surat in 1668. Their leader was one Caron. He was a merchant of French extraction, who was grown old in the ſervice of the Dutch company. Hamilton ſays, that this able man, who had ingratiated himſelf with the emperor of Japan, had obtained leave to build a houſe for his maſters, on the iſland where the factory ſtood which was under his direction. This building proved to be a caſtle. The natives, who knew nothing of fortification, did not entertain any ſuſpicion of it. They ſurprized ſome pieces of cannon that were ſending from Batavia, and informed the court of what was going forward. Caron was ordered to repair to Jeddo, to give an account of his conduct. As he had nothing reaſonable to alledge in his vindication, he was treated with great ſeverity and contempt. They plucked off his beard by the roots, put him on a fool's cap and coat, and in this trim expoſed him to the inſults of the populace, and he was baniſhed from the empire. The reception he met with at Java gave him a diſguſt againſt the intereſts he had eſpouſed; and actuated by revenge he went over to the French, and became their agent.

Attack of the French upon the iſlands of Ceylon and St. Thomas. Their ſettlement at Pondicherry.

SURAT, where they had fixed him, did not anſwer his notion of a chief ſettlement. He diſliked the ſituation; he lamented his being obliged to purchaſe his ſafety by ſubmiſſions; he foreſaw it would be a diſadvantage to carry on trade in competition with richer nations, who knew more, and were held in greater eſteem than themſelves. He wiſhed to find an independent port in the center of India, or in ſome of the ſpice iſlands, without which he thought it impoſſible for any company to ſupport itſelf. The Bay of Trinquimale in the iſland of Ceylon, appeared to him to unite all theſe advantages, and he accordingly ſailed for that place with a powerful ſquadron, which had been ſent him

him from Europe under the command of La Haye, and which was to act under his direction. They believed, or feigned to believe, that they might ſettle there without encroaching upon the rights of the Dutch, whoſe property had never been acknowledged by the ſovereign of the iſland, with whom they had entered into a treaty.

ALL that they alledged might indeed be true, but the event did not anſwer their expectation. They divulged a project which they ought to have kept a profound ſecret; they executed ſlowly an expedition which ought to have been effected at once; they were intimidated by a fleet which was not in a condition to fight, and which could not, poſſibly, have received orders to hazard an engagement. The greater part of the ſhips crews and land forces, periſhed with want and ſickneſs; ſome men were left in a ſmall fort they had erected, where they were ſoon compelled to ſurrender. With the remainder they went to ſeek for proviſions on the coaſt of Coromandel, but finding none either at the Daniſh ſettlement of Tranquebar or any where elſe, in a fit of deſpair they went and attacked St. Thomas, where they were informed there was great plenty.

THIS town, which had long been a flouriſhing one, was built by the Portugueſe above a hundred years before. The king of Golconda having conquered the Carnatic, could not ſuffer ſo important a place to remain in foreign hands; he ſent his generals to attack it in 1662, and they made themſelves maſters of it. The fortifications, though conſiderable and in good repair, did not ſtop the progreſs of the French, who took them by ſtorm in 1672. They were ſoon inveſted, and were forced to ſurrender two years after; becauſe the Dutch, who were at war with Lewis XIV. joined with the Indians to expel them.

BOOK IV.

THIS laſt event would have entirely ruined the enterprize, after all the expence the government had been at to ſupport the company, had not Martin been one of the merchants ſent on board La Haye's ſquadron. He collected the remains of the two colonies of Ceylon and St. Thomas, and with them he peopled the little town of Pondicherry, which had been lately ceded to him, and which was riſing to a city, when the company conceived the faireſt hopes of a new ſettlement which they had now an opportunity of making in India.

Settlement of the French at Siam. Their deſigns on Tonquin and Cochinchina.

SOME prieſts belonging to the foreign miſſions had preached the goſpel at Siam. They had gained the love of the people by their doctrine and by their behaviour. Plain, good-natured, and humane men, without intrigue or avarice, they gave no jealouſy to the government nor to the people; they had inſpired them with reſpect and love for the French in general, and in particular for Lewis XIV.

A GREEK, of a reſtleſs and ambitious ſpirit, named Conſtantine Faulkon, in his travels to Siam, had been ſeen by the prince, who was ſo much pleaſed with him, that in a ſhort time he raiſed him to the poſt of prime miniſter, or barcalon, an office which nearly anſwers to our ancient maires of the palace.

FAULKON governed both the people and the king with deſpotic ſway. The prince was a weak valetodinarian, and had no iſſue. His miniſter conceived a project to ſucceed him; poſſibly to dethrone him. It is well known that theſe attempts are as eaſy and as frequent in deſpotic governments, as they are difficult and uncommon in countries where the prince governs by the rules of juſtice; where the principles and meaſure of his authority are founded on fundamental and immutable laws, which are under the guardianſhip of numerous bodies of able magiſtrates. There the enemies of

of the ſovereign ſhew that they are enemies of the ſtate; there they find themſelves ſoon ſtopped in their projects by all the forces of the nation; becauſe, by riſing up againſt the head, they riſe up againſt the laws, which are the ſtanding and immutable will of the nation.

FAULKON contrived to make the French ſubſervient to his ſcheme, as ſome ambitious men had formerly made uſe of a guard of ſix hundred Japaneſe, who had more than once diſpoſed of the crown of Siam. He ſent ambaſſadors into France in 1684 to make a tender of his maſter's alliance, and to offer ſea ports to the French merchants, and to aſk for ſhips and troops.

THE oſtentatious vanity of Lewis XIV. took advantage of this embaſſy. The flatterers of that prince, who was too much extolled, though he deſerved commendation, perſuaded him that his fame abroad throughout the whole world, entitled him to the homage of the Eaſt. He did not content himſelf with the enjoyment of theſe vain honours; he endeavoured to improve the diſpoſitions of the king of Siam, to the benefit of the India Company, and ſtill more of the miſſionaries. He ſent out a ſquadron with more Jeſuits than traders; and in the treaty which was concluded between the two kings, the French ambaſſadors, directed by the Jeſuit Tachard, attended much more to the concerns of religion than to thoſe of commerce.

THE company ſtill entertained great hopes of the ſettlement at Siam, and theſe hopes were not ill grounded.

THAT kingdom, though it is divided by a ridge of mountains that runs on till it meets with the rocks of Tartary, is ſo prodigiouſly fruitful, that many of the cultivated lands yield two hundred to one. Some will even bear plentiful crops ſpontaneouſly. That grain, left to the care of nature, ſows itſelf again, and grows

BOOK IV.

the next year, without any other culture than what the waters of the river afford, which flows all across the kingdom.

THERE is, perhaps, no country where fruits grow in such plenty and variety, or are so wholesome, as in this delightful spot. Some are peculiar to the country, and others are much higher flavoured than any where else.

THE earth, always covered with these ever-growing treasures, conceals, under a very thin surface, mines of gold, copper, loadstone, iron, lead, and calin, that species of tin which is so highly esteemed all over Asia.

ALL these advantages are rendered useless by the most horrid despotism. A prince corrupted by his very power, oppresses his people by his caprices, whilst he is indulging in his seraglio, or suffers them to be oppressed by his indolence. At Siam there are none but slaves, and no subjects. The men are divided into three classes: the first serve as a guard to the monarch, till his lands, and work at different trades in his palace. The second are appointed to public labours, and to the defence of the state. The last are magistrates, ministers, the principal officers of the kingdom. No Siamese is advanced to any eminent post, but he is allowed a certain number of men who are at his disposal; so that the salaries annexed to great officers are well paid at the court of Siam, because they are not paid in money, but in men, who cost the prince nothing. These unfortunate people are registered at the age of sixteen. On the first summons every one must repair to the post assigned him, upon pain of being put in irons, or condemned to the bastinado.

IN a country where all the men must work for the government for six months in the year, without being paid or subsisted, and the other six to earn a subsistence for

the

the whole year; in ſuch a country, the very lands muſt feel the effects of tyranny, and conſequently there is no property. Thoſe delicious fruits that enrich the gardens of the monarch and the grandees, are not ſuffered to ripen in thoſe of private men. If the ſoldiers who are ſent out to examine the orchards, diſcover ſome choice tree, they never fail to mark it for the tyrant's table, or thoſe of his miniſters. The owner becomes the guardian of it, and is anſwerable for the fruit, under very ſevere penalties.

The men are not only ſlaves to men but to the very beaſts. The king of Siam keeps a great number of elephants. Thoſe of his palace are waited upon, and treated with extraordinary honours. The meaneſt have fifteen ſlaves to attend them, who are conſtantly employed in gathering graſs, bananas and ſugar canes for them. The king takes ſo much pride in theſe creatures which are of no real uſe, that he rates his power rather by their number than by that of his provinces. Under pretence of feeding them well, their attendants will drive them into grounds and orchards to deſtroy them, unleſs the owners will purchaſe an exemption from theſe hardſhips by continual preſents. No body would dare to ſhut his field againſt the king's elephants, many of whom are decorated with honourable titles, and advanced to the higheſt dignities in the ſtate.

So many kinds of tyranny make the Siameſe deteſt their native country, though they look upon it as the beſt upon earth. Moſt of them fly from oppreſſion into the foreſts, where they lead a ſavage life, infinitely preferable to that of ſociety corrupted by deſpotiſm. So great is this deſertion, that from the port of Mergui to Juthia the capital of the empire, you may travel for a week together and not meet with the leaſt population, through immenſe plains, well watered, with a fine rich

BOOK IV.

ſoil and ſtill bearing the marks of former culture. That fine country is now over-run with tygers.

It was formerly peopled with men. Beſides the natives, it was full of colonies, which were come ſucceſſively from all the eaſtern parts of Aſia. Their inducement was the immenſe trade carried on there. All hiſtorians atteſt that in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, a vaſt number of ſhips came into their roads every year. That tyranny, which prevailed ſoon after proved the deſtruction of the mines, manufactures and agriculture. With them diſappeared all the foreign merchants, and even the trading part of the nation. The ſtate fell into confuſion, and conſequently grew languid. The French, on their arrival found it ſunk into this ſtate of degradation. It was in general poor, and under the dominion of a deſpotic tyrant, who, engroſſing all the trade to himſelf, muſt of courſe bring it to nothing. What few ornaments and articles of luxury were conſumed at court and in the houſes of the great, came from Japan. The Siameſe had a great regard for the Japaneſe, and were very fond of their work.

It was no eaſy matter to divert them from this attachment, and yet it was the only way of procuring a demand for the produce of French induſtry. If any thing could effect this change, it was the Chriſtian religion, which the prieſts of the foreign miſſions had preached to them, and not without ſucceſs; but the Jeſuits, too much devoted to Faulkon, who began to be odious, abuſed the favour they enjoyed at court, and drew upon themſelves the hatred of the people; and this odium reflected upon their religion. They built churches before there were any chriſtians. They founded monaſteries, and by theſe proceedings revolted the common people and the Talapoys. Theſe are their monks; ſome live ſolitary, and ſome are intriguing men. They

They preach to the people the doctrines and precepts of Sommona Kodom. That lawgiver of the Siamese was long honoured as a sage, and has since been revered as a god, or as an emanation of the deity, a son of god. They relate a thousand wonderful stories of this man. He lived upon one grain of rice a-day. He pulled out one of his eyes to give to a poor man, having nothing else to give him. Another time he gave away his wife. He commanded the stars, the rivers and the mountains. But he had a brother who was always thwarting his endeavours for the good of mankind. God avenged him, and crucified that unhappy brother. This fable prejudiced the Siamese against the religion of a crucified God; and they could not revere Jesus Christ, because he died the same death as the brother of Sommona Kodom.

If the French could not carry their commodities to Siam, they could at least inspire the people with a taste for them, prepare the way for a great trade with this country, and avail themselves of that which actually offered, to open connections with all the east. The situation of that kingdom between two gulphs, where it takes up one hundred and sixty leagues of sea-coast on the one, and about two hundred on the other, would have opened the navigation of all the seas in that part of the world. The fortress of Bancoe, built at the mouth of the Menan, which had been put into the hands of the French, was an excellent mart for all dealings they might have had with China, the Philippines, or any of the eastern parts of India. Mergui, the principal port of the kingdom, and one of the best in Asia, which had likewise been ceded to them, greatly facilitated their trade with the coast of Coromandel, and chiefly with Bengal. It secured to them an advantageous intercourse with the kingdoms of Pegu, Ava, Aracam and Lagos,

countries

BOOK IV.

countries ſtill more barbarous than Siam, but where are found the fineſt rubies and ſome gold duſt. All theſe countries, as well as Siam, produce the tree which yields that precious gum, with which the Chineſe and Japaneſe make their varniſh; and whoever is in poſſeſſion of this commodity, may be ſure of carrying on a very lucrative trade with China and Japan.

Besides the advantage of coming into good ſettlements, which were no expence to the company, and might throw into their hands a great part of the trade of the eaſt, they might have brought home from Siam ivory, logwood like that which is cut in the bay of Campeachy, a great deal of caſſia, and all that quantity of buffalo and deer ſkins that the Dutch formerly fetched from thence. They might have grown pepper there, and, poſſibly, other ſpices which were not to be found there, as they did not underſtand the culture of them, and becauſe the wretched inhabitants of Siam are ſo indifferent to every thing, that nothing ſucceeds with them.

The French paid no attention to theſe objects. The factors of the company, the officers, the Jeſuits, all were ignorant of trade: their whole attention was taken up in converting the natives, and making themſelves maſters of them. At laſt, after having given a very trifling aſſiſtance to Faulkon, at the inſtant when he was ready to execute his deſigns, they were involved in his diſgrace; and the fortreſſes of Mergui and Bancocok, defended by French troops, were taken from them by the baſeſt of all nations.

During the ſhort time that the French were ſettled at Siam, the company ſought to get a footing at Tonquin. They flattered themſelves that they might trade ſafely and to advantage with a nation which had for ages been inſtructed by the Chineſe. Their religion is Theiſm,

Theiſm, the doctrine of Confucius, whoſe precepts and writings are held in greater veneration than even in China. But there is not the ſame agreement as in China between the principles of government, religion, laws, opinions, rites and ceremonies. Accordingly, though Tonquin has the ſame lawgiver, it is far from having the ſame morals. You find there neither that reſpect for parents, that love for the prince, thoſe reciprocal affections, nor thoſe ſocial virtues which you meet with in China; nor have they the ſame good order, police, induſtry or activity.

THIS nation, which is devoted to exceſſive indolence, and is voluptuous without taſte or delicacy, lives in conſtant diſtruſt of its ſovereigns and ſtrangers. It is doubtful whether their ſeditious humour proceeds from a natural reſtleſſneſs of temper, or whether the Chineſe ſyſtem of morality has inſtructed the people without mending the government. The improvement of knowledge, whether it aſcends from the people to the government, or deſcends from that to the people, ſhould unite their aſſiſtance, elſe it will be productive of fatal revolutions. In Tonquin, there is a continual ſtruggle between the eunuchs who govern, and the people who impatiently bear the yoke. Every thing languiſhes and tends to ruin in the midſt of theſe diſſentions; and theſe calamities muſt increaſe, till the people have compelled their maſters to grow wiſer, or the maſters have rendered their ſubjects quite inſenſible. The Portugueſe and the Dutch who had attempted to form ſome connections in Tonquin, had been forced to give them up. The French were not more ſucceſsful. No Europeans have ſince carried on that navigation, except ſome few merchants of Madraſs, who have alternately forſaken and reſumed it. They divide with the Chineſe the exportation of copper

BOOK IV.

copper and ordinary ſilks, the only tolerable commodities that country affords.

COCHINCHINA lay too near Siam not to draw the attention of the French, and they would, probably, have fixed there, had they had ſagacity enough to foreſee what degree of ſplendour that riſing ſtate would one day acquire. The Europeans are indebted to a philoſophical traveller for what little they know with any certainty concerning that fine country. The following is the reſult of his obſervations.

WHEN the French arrived in thoſe diſtant regions, they learned that about half a century before, a prince of Tonquin as he was flying from his ſovereign, who purſued him as a rebel, had, with his ſoldiers and adherents, croſſed the river, which ſerves as a barrier between Tonquin and Cochinchina. The fugitives, who were warlike and civilized men, ſoon expelled the ſcattered inhabitants, who wandered about without any ſociety or form of government, or any laws but that mutual intereſt which prompted them not to injure one another. Here they founded an empire upon the principles of culture and property. Rice was the food the moſt eaſily cultivated, and the moſt plentiful; upon this, therefore, the new coloniſts beſtowed their firſt attention. The ſea and the rivers afforded an ample proviſion of excellent fiſh, which was an inducement to inhabit their banks. They bred domeſtic animals, ſome for food and others for labour. They cultivated the trees they were moſt in want of, ſuch as the cotton for their clothing. The mountains and foreſts, which could not poſſibly be cultivated, afforded wild fowl, metals, gums, perfumes and timbers of an excellent kind. Theſe productions proved ſo many materials, means and objects of commerce. One hundred gallies

were

were built, which are conſtantly employed in defending the coaſts of the kingdom.

ALL theſe ſeveral advantages were well beſtowed upon a people of a mild and humane diſpoſition; a diſpoſition which they partly owe to the women, either from the natural aſcendant of beauty, or from their aſſiduity to labour, or from their readineſs at buſineſs. In general, it is certain, that in the firſt beginnings of all ſocieties, the women are ſooner civilized than the men. Their very weakneſs, their ſedentary life, their being more taken up with a variety of leſſer cares, furniſh them ſooner with that knowledge and experience, and incline them to thoſe domeſtic attachments, which are the firſt promoters and ſtrongeſt ties of ſociety. This is, perhaps, the reaſon why, in many ſavage nations, the women are intruſted with the adminiſtration of civil government, which is but a higher degree of domeſtic oeconomy. So long as the ſtate is but as one great family, the women are capable of undertaking the management of it. Then, undoubtedly, the people are happieſt, eſpecially in a climate where nature has left but little for man to do.

SUCH is the climate of Cochinchina. The people, though but imperfectly civilized, enjoy that happineſs which might excite the envy of more improved ſocieties. They have neither robbers, nor beggars. Every one is at liberty to live at his own houſe, or at his neighbour's. A traveller freely enters a houſe in any village, ſits down to table, eats and drinks, without being invited or aſked any queſtions, and then goes away without returning thanks. He is a man, and therefore a friend and relation of the family. If he is a foreigner, he will excite more curioſity, but is equally welcome.

THESE cuſtoms are the relics of the government of the ſix firſt kings of Cochinchina, and derived from the original

BOOK IV.

original contract entered into between the nation and their leader, before they croſſed the river that divides Tonquin from Cochinchina. Theſe men were weary of oppreſſion. They dreaded the like calamity, and therefore took care to guard againſt the abuſe of authority, which is ſo apt to tranſgreſs its due limits, if not kept under ſome reſtraint. Their chief, who had ſet them an example of liberty, and taught them to reach, promiſed them that felicity which he himſelf chooſe to enjoy; that of a juſt, mild and parental government. He cultivated with them the land into which they had taken refuge together. He never demanded any thing of them, but a yearly and voluntary ſupply, to enable him to defend the nation againſt the tyrant of Tonquin, who, for a long time, purſued them beyond the river.

This primitive contract was religiouſly obſerved for upwards of a century, under five or ſix ſucceſſors of that brave deliverer: but at laſt it has been infringed. This reciprocal and ſolemn engagement is ſtill renewed every year in the face of heaven and earth, in a general aſſembly of the whole nation, held in open air, where the oldeſt man preſides, and where the king only aſſiſts as a private perſon. That prince ſtill honours and protects agriculture, but does not, like his predeceſſors, ſet the example of labour. When he ſpeaks of his ſubjects, he ſtill ſays, *they are my children*; but they are no longer ſo. His courtiers have ſtiled themſelves his ſlaves, and have given him the pompous and ſacrilegious title of *king of heaven*. From that moment, men muſt have appeared to him but as ſo many inſects creeping on the ground. The gold which he has digged out of the mines, has put a ſtop to agriculture. He has deſpiſed the homely roof of his anceſtors, and would have a palace. Its circumference has been marked out, and comprehends a whole league. Thouſands of cannon planted

round

round the walls of this palace, make it formidable to the people. It now incloſes a deſpotic monarch; in a ſhort time he will no more be ſeen; and this inviſibility, which conſtitutes the majeſty of eaſtern kings, will ſubſtitute the tyrant to the father of the nation.

The diſcovery of gold has brought on that of taxes; and the name of adminiſtration of the finances will ſoon ſuperſede that of civil legiſlation and ſocial contract. Contributions are no longer free-will offerings, but extortions levied by compulſion. Deſigning men go to the king's palace, and craftily obtain the privilege of plundering the provinces. With gold they at once purchaſe a right of committing crimes, and the privilege of impunity: they bribe the courtiers, elude the vigilance of the magiſtrates, and oppreſs the huſbandmen. The traveller already ſees as he paſſes along, fallow grounds, and whole villages forſaken by their inhabitants. This *king of heaven*, like the gods of Epicurus, careleſsly ſuffers plagues and calamities to vex the land. He is ignorant of the ſufferings and diſtreſſes of his people, who will ſoon fall into a ſtate of annihilation, like the ſavages whoſe territories they now poſſeſs. All nations governed by deſpotiſm muſt inevitably periſh in this manner. If Cochinchina relapſes into that chaos out of which it emerged about a hundred and fifty years ago, it will be wholly diſregarded by the navigators who now frequent the ports of that kingdom. The Chineſe, who carry on the greateſt trade there, get in exchange for their own commodities wood for ſmall work, and timber for building houſes and ſhips.

An immenſe quantity of ſugar, the raw at four livres (3*s*. 6*d*.) a hundred weight, the white at eight, (7*s*.) and ſugar-candy at ten. (8*s*. 9*d*.) Very good ſilk, ſattins, and pitre, the fibres of a tree, not unlike the banana, which they fraudulently mix in their manufactures. Black and ordinary tea, which ſerves for the conſumption of common

BOOK IV.

common people. Such excellent cinnamon, that it ſells three or four times dearer than that of Ceylon. There is very little of it; it grows only upon one mountain, which is always ſurrounded with guards. Excellent pepper, and ſuch pure iron, that they work it as it comes out of the mine, without ſmelting. Gold of three and twenty carrats. It is found there in greater plenty than in any other part of the Eaſt. Eagle-wood, which is more or leſs eſteemed as it is more or leſs reſinous. The pieces that contain moſt of this roſin are commonly taken from the heart, or from the root of the tree. They are called calunbac, and are always ſold for their weight in gold to the Chineſe, who account them the higheſt cordial in nature. They are carefully preſerved in pewter-boxes, to keep them from drying. When they are to be adminiſtered they are ground upon a marble, with ſuch liquids as are beſt ſuited to the diſorder they are intended to remove. The inferior eagle-wood, which always ſells at leaſt a hundred livres (4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) a pound, is carried to Perſia, Turky, and Arabia. They uſe it to perfume their cloaths, and ſometimes their apartments, upon very particular occaſions, and then they mix it with amber. It is alſo uſed for another purpoſe. It is a cuſtom among thoſe nations, when they are deſirous of ſhewing their viſitors great civilities, to preſent them with pipes, then with coffee and ſweetmeats. When converſation begins to grow languid, the ſherbet is brought in, which is looked upon as a hint to depart. As ſoon as the ſtranger riſes to go away, they bring in a little pan with eagle-wood, and perfume his beard, ſprinkling it with roſe-water.

THOUGH the French, who had ſcarce any thing elſe to bring but cloth, lead, gunpowder, and brimſtone, were obliged to trade with Cochinchina chiefly in money, yet they were under a neceſſity of purſuing this trade in competition with the Chineſe. This inconvenience might have

have been obviated by the profit that would have been made upon goods ſent to Europe, or ſold in India; but it is now too late to attempt it. Probity and honeſty, the eſſentials of an active and ſolid trade, are forſaking theſe regions, which were formerly ſo flouriſhing, in proportion as the government becomes arbitrary, and conſequently unjuſt. In a ſhort time no greater number of ſhips will be ſeen in their harbours than in thoſe of the neighbouring ſtates, where they were ſcarcely known.

HOWEVER this may be, the French company driven from Siam, and without hopes of ſettling at the extremities of Aſia, began to regret their factory at Surat, where they dared not appear again, ſince they had left it without paying their debts. They had loſt the only market they knew of for their cloths, their lead, and their iron; and they were continually at a loſs in the purchaſe of goods to anſwer the fancies of the mother country, and the wants of the colonies. By fulfilling all their former engagements, they might have recovered their forfeited liberty. The Mogul government wiſhed for a greater competition in their roads, and would have preferred the French to the Engliſh, who had purchaſed of the court an exemption from all duties, and often urged them to it. Whether it was for want of honeſty, of ſkill, or of means, certain it is that the company never could remove the reproach they had incurred. They confined their whole attention to the fortifying of Pondicherry, when they were ſuddenly prevented by a bloody war, which was owing to remote cauſes.

The loſs and recovery of Pondicherry, which became the chief ſettlement in India.

THE northern Barbarians who had overturned the Roman empire, that was miſtreſs of the world, eſtabliſhed a form of government which would not admit of augmenting their conqueſts, and kept every ſtate within its natural limits. The abolition of the feudal laws,

BOOK IV.

laws, and the alterations consequent upon it, seemed to tend to a second universal monarchy; but the Austrian power, weakened by the great extent of their possessions and their distance from each other, could not overturn the bulwarks that were raising against it. After a whole century of contests, hopes, and disappointments, it was forced to yield to a nation, whose strength, position, and activity, rendered her more formidable to the liberties of Europe. Richelieu and Mazarine began this revolution by their intrigues. Turenne and Condé completed it by their victories. Colbert settled it by the introduction of arts, and of all kinds of industry. If Lewis XIV, who may be said to have been not, perhaps, the greatest monarch of his age, but one who best supported the dignity of the throne, had been more moderate in the exercise of his power, and the sense of his grandeur, it is difficult to determine how far he might have carried his good fortune. His vanity proved detrimental to his ambition. After bending his own subjects to his will, he wanted to do the same with his neighbours. His pride raised him more enemies than his influence and his genius could supply him with allies and resources.

He was delighted with the flatteries of his panegyrists and courtiers, who promised him universal monarchy, and the pleasure he took in these adulations contributed still more than the extent of his power to inspire a dread of universal conquest and slavery. The distresses and invectives of his protestant subjects dispersed by a tyrannical fanaticism, completed the hatred he had incurred by his successes, and the abuse he made of his prosperity.

The Prince of Orange, a man of a steady, upright disposition, and of a penetrating judgment, endowed with every virtue that is consistent with ambition, became

came the center of all theſe reſentments, which he had long fomented by his negociations and his emiſſaries. France was attacked by the moſt formidable confederacy recorded in hiſtory, and yet ſhe was conſtantly triumphant.

She was not ſo ſucceſsful in Aſia as in Europe. The Dutch firſt endeavoured to prevail upon the natives to attack Pondicherry, which they could never be compelled to reſtore. The Indian prince, to whom they applied for that purpoſe, was not to be bribed by their gold to agree to ſo perfidious a propoſal. His conſtant anſwer was, *The French have bought that place, it would be unjuſt to turn them out.* What the Raja refuſed to do, the Dutch did themſelves. They beſieged the town in 1693, and were obliged to reſtore it at the peace of Ryſwick, in a much better condition than they found it.

Martin was again appointed director, and managed the affairs of the company with that wiſdom, ſkill, and integrity, which was expected from him. That able and virtuous merchant drew freſh coloniſts to Pondicherry, and made the place agreeable to them, by the good order he maintained there, and by his moderation and juſtice. He found means to be beloved by the neighbouring princes, whoſe friendſhip was of conſequence to an infant colony. He ſelected and trained up excellent ſubjects, and ſent them to the Aſiatic markets, and to the ſeveral princes. He had perſuaded the French, that as they were come laſt to India, finding themſelves there in a weak condition, and without hopes of aſſiſtance from home, the only way to ſucceed was, to give the natives a good opinion of them. He made them put off that levity, and thoſe ſcornful airs, which ſo often make their nation inſufferable to ſtrangers. They grew modeſt, gentle, and aſſiduous to buſineſs;

BOOK IV.

ſineſs; they learnt the art of behaving ſuitably to the genius of the ſeveral nations, and to particular circumſtances. Thoſe who did not confine themſelves to the company's ſervice, frequenting different courts, got acquainted with the places where the fineſt ſtuffs were manufactured, the ſtaples where the choiceſt commodities were to be met with, and, in ſhort, with all the particulars relative to the inland trade of every country.

ALL that Martin could do was to lay the foundation of future ſucceſs to the company, by the good opinion he gave of the French, by the pains he took to train up agents, by the informations he acquired, and by the good order he maintained in Pondicherry, which daily acquired new inhabitants; but all this was not ſufficient to invigorate a feeble conſtitution as that of the company had always been.

Decline of the French company, and the cauſe of it.

THE firſt ſcheme was to eſtabliſh a great empire at Madagaſcar. A ſingle armament carried over 1688 perſons, who were made to expect a delightful climate and a rapid fortune, whereas they found nothing but famine, diſcord and death.

So unfortunate a beginning diſcouraged the adventurers from an undertaking, which they had entered upon for faſhion's ſake, or out of complaiſance. The owners of ſhares had not made good their payments ſo punctually as they ought, which is an eſſential thing in commercial concerns. The government, which had engaged to lend without intereſt a fifth part of the ſums which ſhould come into the company's coffers, and had as yet been called upon but for two millions, (87,500*l.*) again drew the ſame ſum out of the public treaſure, in hopes of ſupporting the work they had begun. Some time after, they carried their generoſity further ſtill, and freely gave what at firſt was only lent.

THIS

THIS ſacrifice of the miniſtry could not, however, enable the company to proceed in their operations. They were forced to confine them to Surat and Pondicherry; and to abandon their ſettlements at Bantam, Rajapore, Tilſeri, Mazulipatam, Gombroon and Siam. No doubt they had too many factories, and ſome were ill ſituated; but this was not the reaſon for putting them down; it was merely their inability to ſupport them.

SOON after, they were obliged to proceed a ſtep further. In 1682, they gave permiſſion indiſcriminately to French ſubjects and foreigners to trade to the Eaſt Indies for five years on the company's ſhips, paying the freight that ſhould be agreed upon; and on condition that the goods brought home ſhould be depoſited in the company's ware-houſes, ſold with their own, and pay them a duty of five per cent. The public ſo eagerly came into this propoſal, that the directors entertained great hopes from the increaſe of theſe ſmall profits, which would be conſtant without any riſque. But the proprietors, deſpiſing theſe leſſer emoluments, and jealous of the great profits made by the free traders, in two years time obtained a repeal of this regulation, and their charter remained in full force.

To ſupport this monopoly with ſome decency, they wanted money. In 1684, the company obtained from government a call upon all the proprietors, amounting to a quarter of their concern; and in caſe any one failed to pay his call, his whole ſhare was to be made over to another who had paid it for him. Whether from perverſeneſs, from good reaſons, or from inability, many did not pay, ſo that their ſhares loſt three fourths of their original value; and to the ſhame of the nation, men were found ſo barbarous or ſo unjuſt as to enrich themſelves with their ſpoils.

BOOK IV.

This diſhonourable expedient enabled them to fit out a few ſhips for Aſia; but new wants were ſoon felt. This cruel ſituation, which grew worſe and worſe, put them upon demanding of the proprietors, in 1697, the reſtitution of the dividends of ten and twenty per cent. which they had received in 1687 and 1691. So extraordinary a propoſal raiſed a general clamour. They were obliged to have recourſe to the uſual method of borrowing. Theſe loans became more chargeable, the more they were multiplied, becauſe the ſecurity grew more precarious.

As the company was in want both of money and credit, the emptineſs of their coffers put it out of their power to afford thoſe advantages to the merchant in India, and that encouragement, without which he will neither work nor ſet others to work. This inability reduced the French ſales to nothing. It is demonſtrable, that from 1664 to 1684, that is, in the ſpace of twenty years, the ſum total of their produce did not exceed nine millions one hundred thouſand livres (398,125*l.*)

To theſe had been added other abuſes. The conduct of the adminiſtrators and agents for the company had not been properly directed, or duly looked into. They had broken into their capital, and paid dividends out of their ſtock, which ought only to have ariſen from the profits. The leaſt brilliant and leaſt proſperous of all reigns had exhibited a model for a commercial company. The trade to China, the eaſieſt, the ſafeſt and the moſt advantageous that is carried on with Aſia, had been given up to a particular body of merchants.

The bloody war of 1689, added to the calamities of the India company, even by the very ſucceſſes of France. Swarms of privateers, fitted out from the ſeveral harbours in the kingdom, annoyed by their vigilance and bravery the trade of Holland and England.

In

In their numberleſs prizes were found a prodigious quantity of India goods, which were retailed at a low price. The company, who by this competition were forced to ſell under prime coſt, ſought to find out ſome expedient to ſave themſelves from this extremity, but could think of none that was reconcileable with the intereſt of the privateers, nor did the miniſter think proper to ſacrifice an uſeful ſet of men, to a body who had ſo long wearied him with their murmurs and complaints.

After all, the company had many more cauſes of diſcontent. The financiers had ſhewn an open hatred for them, and were continually thwarting and clogging them. Supported by thoſe vile aſſociates which they always have at court, they endeavoured to annihilate the India trade, under the ſpecious pretence of encouraging the home manufactures. The government was at firſt afraid of being expoſed to reproach, by departing from the principles of Colbert, and repealing the moſt ſolemn edicts: but the farmers of the revenue found means to render thoſe privileges uſeleſs, which the miniſtry would not aboliſh; and without being abſolutely deprived of them, the company no longer enjoyed them.

Heavier duties were ſucceſſively laid upon all India goods. Half a year ſeldom paſſed, without ſome new regulation, ſometimes to allow, ſometimes to prohibit the uſe of theſe commodities: there was a continued ſcene of contradictions, in a part of adminiſtration that would have required ſteady and invariable principles. All theſe waverings gave Europe room to think that trade would hardly be eſtabliſhed in a kingdom where all depends upon the caprices of a miniſter, or the intereſts of thoſe who govern.

The

BOOK IV.

THE conduct of an ignorant and corrupt adminiſtration; the levity and impatience of the proprietors, the ſelfiſh jealouſy of the finance, the oppreſſive ſpirit of the treaſury, joined to other cauſes, had prepared the ruin of the company. The miſeries of the war for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion haſtened their deſtruction.

EVERY reſource was exhauſted. The moſt ſanguine ſaw no proſpect of making the leaſt armament. Beſides, if by ſome unexpected good fortune they ſhould chance to fit out ſome few weak veſſels, it was to be feared they might be ſeized in Europe, or in India, by diſappointed creditors, who muſt be exaſperated at being ſo long trifled with. Theſe powerful motives determined the company in 1707, to conſent that ſome rich merchants ſhould ſend their own ſhips to India, upon condition that they ſhould allow the company fifteen per cent. profit upon the goods they ſhould bring home, and the right of taking ſuch ſhare in thoſe ſhips as their circumſtances ſhould admit of. Soon after this, they were even reduced to make over the whole and excluſive exerciſe of their privilege to ſome privateers of St. Malo, ſtill reſerving the ſame conceſſion, which for ſome years paſt had in ſome degree kept them alive.

NOTWITHSTANDING this deſperate ſituation, in 1714 they ſolicited the renewal of their charter, which was nearly at an end, and which they had enjoyed for half a century. The miniſtry, who did not know, or would not ſee that there were proper meaſures to be taken, granted them an indulgence for ten years longer. This new regulation took place but in part, in conſequence of ſome extraordinary events, the cauſes of which we ſhall next inquire into.

The French company recovers a glimpſe of its ancient ſplendour by Law's ſyſtem; but ſoon relapſes into obſcurity.

WHOEVER has been accuſtomed to trace the progreſs of empires, has always conſidered the death of Colbert

Colbert as the period that put an end to the true proſperity of France. She ſtill appeared with ſome outward ſplendor, but her inward decay increaſed daily. Her finances, adminiſtered without order and principle, fell a prey to a multitude of rapacious farmers of the revenue. Theſe people made themſelves neceſſary by their very extortions, and went ſo far as to give the law even to government. The confuſion, uſury, and continual alterations in the coin, the reductions of intereſt, the alienations of the domain and of the taxes, engagements which it was impoſſible to fulfil, the creation of penſions and places, the privileges and exemptions of all kinds, and a thouſand other evils, each more ruinous than the other, were the conſequences of ſo corrupt an adminiſtration.

The loſs of credit ſoon became univerſal. Bankruptcies were more frequent. Money grew ſcarce, and trade was at a ſtand. The conſumption was ſmaller. The culture of lands was neglected. Artiſts went over to foreign countries. The common people had neither food nor clothing. The nobility ſerved in the army without pay, and mortgaged their lands. All orders of men groaned under the weight of taxes, and were in want of the neceſſaries of life. The royal effects had loſt their value. The contracts, upon the hotel de ville ſold but for half their worth, and the bills of ſale fell eighty or ninety per cent. under par. Lewis XIV, a little before his death, was in great want of eight millions; (350,000*l.*) and was forced to give bonds for 32,000,000, (1,400,000*l.*) which was borrowing at four hundred per cent.

In this confuſion were public affairs, when the Duke of Orleans took the reins of government. Thoſe who were for violent meaſures, propoſed to ſacrifice the creditors of the ſtate to the landholders, as the former were

BOOK IV.

were in proportion to the latter but as one to ſix hundred. The regent refuſed to come into a meaſure that would have ſtamped an indelible ſtain upon his adminiſtration. He preferred an inquiry into the public engagements to a total bankruptcy.

NOTWITHSTANDING the reduction of 600,000,000 (26,250,000*l.*) of ſtock to bearer, to 250,000,000 (10,937,500*l.*) of government bonds, the national debt amounted to 262,138,001 livres (90,218,573*l.* 11*s.*) at twenty-eight livres (1*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*) the mark, the intereſt of which, at four per cent. amounted to 89,983,453 livres, (3,936,776*l.* 1*s.* 4*d. halfp.*)

THIS enormous debt, which nearly abſorbed the whole of the public revenue, ſuggeſted the idea of appointing a bed of juſtice, to call thoſe to account who had been the authors of the public calamities, and had enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of the nation. This inquiry only ſerved to expoſe to public view the incapacity of the miniſters who had been intruſted with the management of the finances, the craft of the farmers of the revenue who had ſwallowed them up, and the baſeneſs of the courtiers who had ſold their intereſt to the firſt bidder. By this experiment, honeſt minds were confirmed in the abhorrence they always had for ſuch a tribunal. It degrades the dignity of the prince who fails to fulfil his engagements, and expoſes to the people the vices of a corrupt adminiſtration. It is injurious to the rights of the citizen, who is accountable for his actions to none but the law. It ſtrikes terror into the rich, who are marked out as delinquents, merely becauſe they are rich, be their fortunes well or ill gotten. It gives encouragement to informers, who point out, as fit objects for tyranny, ſuch as it may be advantageous to ruin. It is compoſed of unmerciful leeches, who ſee guilt wherever they ſuſpect there

is

is money. It ſpares plunderers, who find means to ſecret their wealth in time; and ſtrips honeſt men who thought themſelves ſecure in their innocence. It ſacrifices the intereſts of the treaſury to the whims of a few greedy, profligate and extravagant favourites.

WHILST France was exhibiting to all Europe the cruel and diſgraceful ſpectacle of theſe complicated evils, a Scotch empiric arrived at Paris, who for ſome time had been travelling about, and making a ſhow of his talents, hurried on by his own reſtleſs diſpoſition. His fiery genius, and peremptory manner, was capable of bearing down every argument, and ſurmounting every difficulty. In 1716 he ſuggeſted the idea of a bank, the ſucceſs of which confounded his opponents, and even exceeded his own expectations. With ninety millions (3,937,500*l.*) that the Weſt India company furniſhed towards this bank, it gave new life to agriculture, to trade, to arts, in ſhort, to the whole nation. The author was extolled as an accurate, extenſive and elevated genius, who deſpiſed fortune, aimed only at glory, and wanted to tranſmit his name to poſterity by great actions. Such was the gratitude of the public, that he was thought to deſerve the higheſt honours. This aſtoniſhing proſperity gave him an unlimited authority. He made uſe of it in 1719 to unite the Eaſt and Weſt India companies, as likewiſe thoſe of Africa and China into one body. Commercial ſchemes were the leaſt concern of the new ſociety. They carried their ambition ſo far as to pretend to pay off all the national debt. The government granted them the ſole vending of tobacco, the mint, the receipts and general farms, to enable them to purſue ſo grand a project.

AT firſt, Law's ſchemes met with univerſal approbation. Six hundred and twenty-four thouſand ſhares, moſtly bought with government bills, and which upon an

BOOK IV.

an average did not really coſt 500 livres, (21*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) roſe to 10,000 livres, (437*l.* 10*s.*) payable in bank notes. Such was the infatuation of the public, that not only Frenchmen but foreigners, and even the moſt ſenſible people, ſold their ſtock, their lands, their jewels, to play this extraordinary game. Gold and ſilver were held in no eſtimation; and nothing but paper currency was ſought after.

THIS frenzy multiplied paper credit to ſuch an amazing degree, that it circulated to the amount of 6,138,243,590 livres, (268,548,157*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*) in ſhares of India ſtock, or in bank notes, though there was actually in the kingdom no more than twelve hundred millions (52,500,000*l.*) in ſpecie, at ſixty livres the mark (2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*)

SUCH a diſproportion might poſſibly have been born in a free nation, where it had been brought on by degrees. The citizens, accuſtomed to conſider the nation as a permanent and independent body, truſt to its ſecurity the more readily, as they are ſeldom thoroughly acquainted with its powers, and have a good opinion of its equity, founded on experience. Upon the ſtrength of this favourable prejudice, credit is often ſtretched in thoſe ſtates beyond the real reſources and ſecurities of the nation. This is not the caſe is an abſolute monarchy, eſpecially ſuch as have often broke their engagements. If an implicit confidence is ſhewn in a fit of phrenzy, the effect ceaſes with the cauſe. Their inſolvency ſtrikes every eye. The honeſty of the monarch, the mortgage, the ſtock, every thing appears imaginary. The creditor, recovered from his delirium, demands his money with a degree of impatience proportionable to his uneaſineſs. The hiſtory of the ſyſtem will corroborate this truth.

IN order to anſwer the firſt demands, they had recourſe to very ſtrange expedients. Gold was prohibited

ed in trade; all perſons were forbidden to keep by them more than five hundred livres (21*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) in ſpecie. An edict was publiſhed, importing ſeveral ſucceſſive diminutions in the value of the coin. This had the deſired effect; people were now in no hurry to draw their money from the bank; on the contrary, in leſs than a month they brought in caſh to the amount of forty-four million, ſix hundred, ninety-ſix thouſand, one hundred, and ninety livres (1,955,458*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*) in ſpecie, at eighty livres (3*l.* 10*s.*) the mark.

As this infatuation could not be laſting, it was judged expedient to leſſen the diſproportion between paper and money, by reducing the bank bills to half their value, and the ſhares to five-ninths. The ſtandard for the coin was fixed at eighty-two livres ten ſols (3*l.* 12*s.* 2*d. f.*) the mark. This operation, the moſt rational, perhaps, that could have been deviſed in the critical ſituation of affairs, completed the general confuſion. The conſternation was univerſal; every one imagined he had loſt half his fortune, and was in a hurry to call in the remainder. The bank had no ſtock, and the ſtock-brokers found they had only been graſping at ſhadows. The foreigners, who had realized their paper at firſt, and carried off one-third of the ready money of the kingdom, were the leaſt loſers. The hopes which the government had conceived of paying off the national debt diſappeared with Law, and there remained no ſolid monument of the ſyſtem, but an India Company, whoſe ſhares were fixed by the liquidation of 1723, to the number of fifty-ſix thouſand, but by ſubſequent events were reduced to fifty thouſand, two hundred, ſixty-eight, and four-tenths.

UNFORTUNATELY they preſerved the privileges of the ſeveral companies out of which this new one had been formed; and this prerogative made them neither wiſe

BOOK IV.

wise nor powerful: it confined the negro trade, and stopped the progress of the sugar colonies. Most of their privileges served only to authorise odious monopolies. The most fertile regions upon earth, when in their hands, were neither peopled nor cultivated. The spirit of finance, which restrains pursuits as much as the commercial spirit enlarges them, became the spirit of the company, and has continued ever since. The directors thought of nothing but making money of the rights ceded to the company in Asia, Africa, and America. It became a society of farmers rather than a trading company. Nothing could possibly be said in praise of their administration, had they not been so honest as to pay off the debts accumulated in India for a century past; and had they not taken care to secure Pondicherry against any invasion, by surrounding it with walls. Their trade was but poor and precarious till Orry was appointed to superintend the finances of the nation.

Great success of the French in India.

THAT upright and disinterested minister cast a blemish upon his virtues, by a harshness of temper which he shewed in a manner not much to the credit of the nation. One day that a friend was upbraiding him for his rudeness, he answered, *How can it be otherwise? out of a hundred people I see in a day, fifty take me for a fool, and fifty for a knave.* He had a brother named Fulvy, who was less rigid in his principles, but had more affability, and greater capacity. He intrusted him with the concerns of the company, which could not but thrive in such hands.

NOTWITHSTANDING the old and new prejudices; notwithstanding the abhorrence the publick had for a relic of the system; notwithstanding the authority of the Sorbonne, which had decided that the dividend upon the shares came under the denomination of usury; notwith-

notwithſtanding the blindneſs of a nation credulous enough not to be ſhocked at ſo abſurd a deciſion, yet ſtill the two brothers found means to convince Cardinal Fleury that it was right effectually to ſupport the India Company. They even prevailed upon that miniſter, who was ſometimes too parſimonious, to laviſh the king's favours upon this eſtabliſhment. The care of ſuperintending its trade and increaſing its powers, was afterwards committed to ſeveral perſons of known abilities.

DUMAS was ſent to Pondicherry. He ſoon obtained leave of the court of Delhi to coin money; which privilege was worth four or five hundred thouſand livres (about 19,700*l.* on an average) a year. He obtained a ceſſion of the territory of Karical, which entitled him to a conſiderable ſhare in the trade of Tanjour. Some time after, a hundred thouſand Marattas invaded the Decan. They attacked the nabob of Arcot, who was vanquiſhed and ſlain. His family and ſeveral of his ſubjects took refuge in Pondicherry. They were received with all the kindneſs due to allies in diſtreſs. Ragogi Bouſſola, the general of the victorious army, demanded, that they ſhould be delivered up to him, and further required the payment of 1,200,000 livres (52,500*l.*) by virtue of a tribute, which he pretended the French had formerly ſubmitted to.

DUMAS made anſwer; that ſo long as the Moguls had been maſters of that country, they had always treated the French with the reſpect due to one of the moſt illuſtrious nations in the world, which took a pride in her turn in protecting her benefactors; that it was not in the nature of that magnanimous nation to deliver up a number of women and children, and of unfortunate and defenceleſs men, to ſee them put to death; that the fugitives then in the town were under the protection

BOOK IV.

tection of his king, who esteemed it his highest honour to be the protector of the distressed; that every Frenchman in Pondicherry would gladly die in their defence; and that it was as much as his head was worth, if his sovereign was to know that he had so much as listened to the mention of a tribute. He added that he was ready to defend the place to the last extremity, and if he was overpowered, he would get on board his ships, and return to Europe. That Ragogi might consider of it, and see whether he chose to expose his army to utter destruction, when the most he could get by it was to take possession of a heap of ruins.

The Indians had not been accustomed to hear the French talk with so much dignity. This boldness staggered the general of the Marattas, and after some negociations skilfully carried on, he determined to keep peace with Pondicherry.

Whilst Dumas was procuring wealth and respect to the company, the government sent la Bourdonnais to the isle of France.

At the time of their first navigations to India, the Portuguese had discovered to the east of Madagascar, between the 19th and 20th degrees of latitude, three islands, to which they gave the names of Mascarenhas, Cerné and Rodrigue. There they found neither men nor quadrupeds, and attempted no settlement upon either of the islands. The most western of them, which they had named Mascarenhas, served as a refuge about the year 1665 to some Frenchmen, who before were settled at Madagascar. There they found an extent of sixty miles in length and forty-five in breadth, full of mountains, and but few plains. At first they bred cattle, and afterwards they cultivated European corn, Asiatic and African fruits, and some vegetables fit for that mild climate. The health, plenty and freedom they enjoyed, induced several sailors belonging to

to the ſhips that touched there for refreſhments, to come and live amongſt them. Induſtry brought on population. In 1718, they procured ſome coffee-trees from Arabia, which ſucceeded tolerably well, though the fruit had loſt much of its flavour. This culture, and other laborious employments, were performed by ſlaves from the coaſt of Africa, or from Madagaſcar. Then the iſland, which had changed its name from Maſcarenhas to the Iſle of Bourbon, became an important object to the company. In 1763, the population amounted to 4627 white people, and 15149 blacks; the cattle conſiſted of 8702 beeves, 4084 ſheep, 7405 goats, 7619 hogs. Upon an extent of 125909 acres of cultivated land, they gathered as much caſſava as would feed their ſlaves, 1135000 pound weight of corn, 844100 pounds of rice, 2879100 pounds of maize, and 2535100 pounds of coffee, which the company bought up at ſix ſols (about 3*d*.) a-pound.

Unfortunately this valuable poſſeſſion has no harbour. This inconvenience determined the French to attempt a ſettlement on the iſland of Cerné, where the Portugueſe had, as uſual, left ſome quadrupeds and fowls for the benefit of ſuch of their ſhips as ſhould ſhould chance to call there. The Dutch, who afterwards took poſſeſſion of it, forſook it for fear of multiplying their ſettlements too much. The iſland was uninhabited when the French landed there in 1720, and changed its name from Mauritius to the iſle of France, which it ſtill bears.

The firſt inhabitants that were ſent thither, came over from Bourbon, and there they were forgotten for fifteen years. They only formed as it were a corps de garde, with orders to hang out a French flag, to inform all nations that the iſland had a maſter. The company, long undetermined, decided at laſt for the keeping

BOOK VI.

keeping it, and in 1735, la Bourdonnais was commiſſioned to improve it.

THIS man, who has ſince been ſo famous, was born at St. Malo, and had been at ſea from the age of ten years; all his voyages had been proſperous, and in every one he had ſignalized himſelf by ſome extraordinary action. He had reconciled the Arabs and the Portugueſe, who were juſt going to murder one another in the road of Mocha: and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war at Mahé. He was the firſt Frenchman who ever thought of ſending armed veſſels into the Indian ſeas. He was known to be equally ſkilful in the art of ſhip-building, as in that of navigating and defending a ſhip. His ſchemes bore the mark of genius, nor were his views contracted by the cloſe attention he paid to all the minute particulars of whatever plan he undertook. Difficulties did but quicken his activity, and diſplay his talent for diſpoſing the men under his command to the beſt advantage. Nothing was ever laid to his charge but an immoderate paſſion for riches; and it muſt be confeſſed he was not over ſcrupulous as to the means of acquiring them.

HE was no ſooner arrived at the Iſle of France, than he made it his buſineſs to acquire every information he could concerning it. He found it to be 31890 toiſes in its greateſt diameter, 22124 in its greateſt breadth, and 432680 acres in ſurface. The greater part of this ground was covered with almoſt impenetrable foreſts, and with mountains not above 400 toiſes high. Moſt of theſe hills were full of reſervoirs of water, which poured down in ſtreams upon a dark grey earth, entirely full of holes, and for the moſt part ſtony.

THE ſea coaſt was what la Bourdonnais chiefly attended to, and his principal obſervations related to the two harbours he found there. He thought the harbour

on

on the ſouth eaſt ſide not worth attending to, on account of the regular and high winds, which make it impoſſible, or at leaſt very difficult, to ſail out of it any ſeaſon of the year. That on the north-weſt he found far preferable, though the ſhips muſt get to it through a narrow channel, between two flats, and then be towed in, and though it will ſcarcely admit above thirty-five or forty ſhips.

As ſoon as la Bourdonnais had taken theſe neceſſary informations, he endeavoured to inſtil a ſpirit of emulation into the firſt coloniſts on the iſland, who were quite diſcouraged at the neglect with which they had been treated, and to reduce to ſome ſubordination the vagrants lately arrived from the mother country. He made them cultivate rice and wheat, for the food of the Europeans, and caſſava, which he had brought from Brazil for the ſlaves. They were to be furniſhed from Madagaſcar with meat for the daily conſumption of the richer inhabitants and of ſea-faring men, till the cattle they had procured from thence ſhould have multiplied ſo conſiderably, as to prevent the neceſſity of importing any more. A poſt which he had eſtabliſhed on the little iſland of Rodrigue, abundantly ſupplied the poor with turtle. Here, ſhips going to India ſoon found all the refreſhments and conveniences they wanted after a tedious paſſage. Three ſhips were fitted out, one of which carried 500 tons burden. If the founder had not the ſatisfaction of bringing the colony to the utmoſt degree of proſperity it was capable of, at leaſt he had the credit of having diſcovered what degree of importance it might acquire in able hands.

THESE improvements, however, though they ſeemed to be owing to enchantment, did not meet with the approbation of thoſe who were principally concerned in them, and la Bourdonnais was compelled to juſtify

BOOK IV.

himſelf. One of the directors was aſking him one day how it came about that he had done the company's buſineſs ſo ill, and his own ſo well. *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *I have done mine according to my own judgment, and that of the company according to your directions.*

GREAT men have been always more uſeful to the public, than large bodies of men. Nations and ſocieties are but the inſtruments of men of genius; theſe have been the true founders of ſtates and colonies. Spain, Portugal, Holland and England, owe their conqueſts and ſettlements abroad to able warriors, experienced ſeamen, and legiſlators of ſuperior talents. France eſpecially is more indebted to ſome fortunate individuals, than to the form of her government. One of thoſe eminent men had juſt been fixing two important iſlands of Africa under the dominion of France; another ſtill more extraordinary perſon, whoſe name was Dupleix, added ſplendor to the French name in Aſia.

HE was firſt ſent to the banks of the Ganges, where he ſuperintended the colony of Chandernagore. That ſettlement, though on the fitteſt ſpot in the world for great commercial undertakings, had been but in a languiſhing condition, till he had the management of it. The company was not able to ſend any great ſtock, and the agents who went over there without any fortune, had not been able to avail themſelves of the liberty that was given them of advancing their own private affairs, as they were allowed to do. The activity of the new governor, who brought an ample fortune the reward of ten years ſucceſsful labours, ſoon ſpread throughout the colony. In a country overflowing with money, they ſoon found credit, when once they ſhewed themſelves deſerving of it. In a ſhort time, Chandernagore became the wonder of its neighbours, and excited the envy of its rivals. Dupleix, who had engaged the reſt

of

of the French in his vaſt ſpeculations, opened freſh ſources of commerce all over the Mogul's dominions, and as far as Thibet. On his arrival he had not found a ſingle ſloop, and he fitted out fifteen armed veſſels at once. Theſe ſhips carried on trade in different places in India. Some he ſent out to the Red Sea, to the Gulph of Perſia, to Surat, to Goa, to the Maldivia, and Manilla Iſlands, and to all the ſeas where there was a poſſibility of trading to advantage.

DUPLEIX had for twelve years ſupported the honour of the French name on the Ganges, and increaſed both public and private fortunes, when he was called to Pondicherry to take upon him the general ſuperintendency of all the company's affairs in India. They were then in a more flouriſhing condition than they had ever yet been, or have ever been ſince; for that year the returns amounted to twenty four millions (1,050,000*l.*). Had they continued to act prudently, had they confided more in two ſuch men as Dupleix and la Bourdonnais, they would probably have acquired ſuch power as would not have been eaſily deſtroyed.

LA BOURDONNAIS foreſaw an approaching rupture with England; and propoſed a ſcheme which would have ſecured to the French the ſovereignty of the ſeas in Aſia, during the whole courſe of the war. He was convinced that which ever nation ſhould firſt take up arms in India, would have a manifeſt advantage over the other. He therefore deſired to have a ſquadron, with which he ſhould ſail to the Iſle of France, and there wait till hoſtilities began. From this place he was to go and cruize in the ſtraits of Sunda, where moſt of the ſhips paſs that are going to, or coming from China. There he would have intercepted all the Engliſh ſhips, and ſaved the French. He would even have ſeized upon the ſmall ſquadron which England ſent

BOOK IV.

into thoſe very latitudes, and having thus made himſelf maſter of the Indian ſeas, would have ruined all the Engliſh ſettlements in thoſe parts.

THE miniſtry approved of this plan, and granted him five men of war, with which he ſet ſail.

HE had ſcarcely ſet ſail, when the directors, equally offended at their being kept in the dark as to the deſtination of the ſquadron, and at the expences it had occaſioned them, and jealous of the advantage this would give to a man who, in their opinion, was already too independent, exclaimed againſt this armament as they had done before, and declared it to be uſeleſs. They were, or pretended to be, ſo fully convinced of the neutrality that would be obſerved in India between the two companies, that they perſuaded the miniſter into that opinion, when la Bourdonnais was no longer preſent to animate him and guide his inexperience.

THE court of Verſailles was not aware that a power ſupported chiefly by trade, would not eaſily be induced to leave them in quiet poſſeſſion of the Indian Ocean; and that if ſhe either made or liſtened to any propoſals of neutrality, it muſt be only to gain time. They were not aware that, even ſuppoſing ſuch an agreement was made *bona fide* on both ſides, a thouſand unforeſeen events might interrupt it. They were not aware that the object propoſed could never be fully anſwered, becauſe the ſea-forces of both nations, not being bound by any private agreement made between two companies, would attack their ſhips in the European ſeas. They were not aware that in the colonies themſelves, they would make preparations to guard againſt a ſurprize; that theſe precautions would create miſtruſt on both ſides; and that miſtruſt would bring on an open rupture. All theſe particulars were not perceived by them, and the ſquadron was recalled. Hoſtilities

lities began, and the loſs of almoſt every French ſhip going to India, ſhewed too late which of the two was the moſt judicious ſyſtem of politics.

La Bourdonnais was as deeply affected for the errors that had occaſioned the misfortunes of the nation, as if he had been guilty of them himſelf, and applied wholly to remedy them. Without magazines, without proviſions, without money, he found means by his attention and perſeverance to make up a ſquadron, compoſed of a ſixty gun ſhip, and five merchantment armed for war. He dared to attack the Engliſh ſquadron; he beat them, purſued and forced them to quit the coaſt of Coromandel; he then beſieged and took Madraſs, the firſt of the Engliſh ſettlements. The victor was preparing for freſh expeditions, which were certain and eaſy; but he was oppoſed with an obſtinacy, which coſt 9,057,000 livres (396,243*l.* 15*s.*), which was the ſtipulated ranſom of the city excluſive of the ſucceſs which muſt neceſſarlily follow this event.

The company was then governed by two of the king's commiſſaries, who were irreconcileable enemies. The directors and the ſubalterns had taken part in the quarrel, according as their inclination or their intereſt led them. The two factions were extremely incenſed againſt each other. That which had cauſed la Bourdonnais's ſquadron to be taken from him, was enraged to ſee that he had found reſources in himſelf, to ward off every blow that was aimed at him. There is good reaſon to believe, that this faction purſued him to India, and inſtilled the poiſon of jealouſy into the heart of Dupleix. Two men formed to eſteem and love each other, to adorn the French name and to deſcend together to poſterity, became the vile tools of an animoſity in which they were not the leaſt intereſted. Dupleix oppoſed la Bourdonnais, and made him loſe much time.

BOOK IV.

The latter, after having ſtaid too late on the coaſt of Coromandel, waiting for the ſuccours which had been unneceſſarily delayed, ſaw his ſquadron deſtroyed by a ſtorm. A diviſion aroſe amongſt his men. So many misfortunes brought on by the intrigues of Dupleix, determined la Bourdonnais to return to Europe, where a horrid dungeon was the reward of all his glorious ſervices, and the end of all the hopes which the nation had built upon his great talents. The Engliſh, delivered from that formidable enemy in India, and recruited by great ſuccours, found themſelves in a condition to attack the French in their turn, and accordingly laid ſiege to Pondicherry.

Dupleix then made amends for paſt errors. He defended the town with great ſkill and bravery; and after the trenches had been opened ſix weeks, the Engliſh were forced to raiſe the ſiege. The news of the peace arrived ſoon after, and all hoſtilities ceaſed between the companies of both nations.

The taking of Madraſs, the naval combat of la Bourdonnais, and the raiſing of the ſiege of Pondicherry, gave the Indian nations a high opinion of the French, and they were reſpected in thoſe parts as the firſt and greateſt of the European powers.

Dupleix endeavoured to avail himſelf of this diſpoſition, and took care to procure great and ſolid advantages for his nation. In order to judge rightly of his project, we muſt lay before the reader a deſcription of the ſtate of Indoſtan at that time.

Views of the French to aggrandize themſelves. Account of Indoſtan.

If we may credit uncertain tradition, that fine rich country tempted the firſt conquerors of the world. But, whether Bacchus, Hercules, Seſoſtris, or Darius, did or did not carry their arms through that large portion of the globe, certain it is, that it proved an inexhauſtible fund of fictions and wonders for the firſt Greeks.

That

That people, ever credulous, becauſe they were always carried away by their imagination, were ſo enchanted with theſe marvellous ſtories, that they ſtill gave credit to them, even in the more enlightened ages of the republic.

If we conſider this matter according to the principles of reaſon and truth, we ſhall find that a pure air, wholeſome food, and great frugality, had early multiplied men to a prodigious degree in Indoſtan. They were acquainted with laws, civil government and arts, whilſt the reſt of the earth was deſert and ſavage. Wiſe and beneficial inſtitutions preſerved theſe people from corruption, and their only care was to enjoy the gifts of the earth and of the climate. If from time to time their morals were tainted in ſome of theſe ſtates, the throne was immediately ſubverted; and when Alexander entered theſe regions, he found very few kings, and many free cities.

A COUNTRY divided into numberleſs little ſtates, ſome of which were popular, and others enſlaved, could not make a very formidable reſiſtance againſt the hero of Macedonia. His progreſs was rapid, and he would have ſubdued the whole country, had not death ſtopped his career in the midſt of his triumphs.

By following this conqueror in his expeditions, the Indian Sandrocotus had learned the art of war. This obſcure man who had no claim but from his talents, collected a numerous army, and drove the Macedonians out of the provinces they had invaded. The deliverer of his country then made himſelf maſter of it, and united all Indoſtan under his dominion. How long he reigned, or what was the duration of the empire he had founded, is not known.

At the beginning of the eighth century, the Arabs over-ran India, as they did many other parts of the world.

BOOK IV.

world. They ſubjected ſome few iſlands to their dominion, but, content with trading peaceably on the continent, they made but few ſettlements on it.

THREE centuries after this, ſome barbarians of their religion, who came out from Khoraſſan headed by Mahmoud, attacked India on the north ſide, and extended their depredations as far as Guzarat. They carried off immenſe ſpoils from thoſe wealthy provinces, and buried them under ground in their wretched and barren deſerts.

THESE calamities were not yet forgotten, when Gengiſkan, who with his Tartars had ſubdued the greateſt part of Aſia, brought his victorious army to the weſtern coaſts of India. This was about the year 1200. It is not known what part this conqueror and his deſcendants took in the affairs of Indoſtan. Probably, they did not concern themſelves much about them, for it appears that ſoon after, the Patans reigned over this fine country.

THESE are ſaid to have been Arabian merchants ſettled on the coaſts of Indoſtan, who taking advantage of the weakneſs of the ſeveral kings and nations who had admitted them, eaſily ſeized upon ſeveral provinces, and founded a vaſt empire, of which Delhi was the capital. Under their dominion, India was happy; becauſe men educated to trade, had not brought along with them that ſpirit of devaſtation and rapine, which commonly attends invaders.

THE Indians had ſcarce had time to accuſtom themſelves to a foreign yoke, when they were once more forced to change maſters. Tamerlane, who came from great Tartary, and was already famous for his cruelties and his victories, marched to the north ſide of Indoſtan, at the end of the fourteenth century, with a triumphant and indefatigable army. He ſecured the northern provinces

vinces in perſon, and abandoned the plunder of the ſouthern parts to his lieutenants. He ſeemed determined to ſubdue all India, when on a ſudden he turned his arms againſt Bajazet, overcame and dethroned that prince; and by the union of all his conqueſts, found himſelf maſter of the immenſe ſpace that extends from the delicious coaſt of Smyrna, to the fortunate borders of the Ganges. After his death, bloody wars deprived his poſterity of his rich ſpoils. Babar, the ſixth deſcendant of one of his children, alone ſurvived to preſerve his name.

THAT young prince brought up in ſloth and luxury, reigned in Samarcand, where his anceſtor had ended his days. The Uſbeck Tartars dethroned him, and conſtrained him to take refuge in the Cabuliſtan. Ranguildas, the governor of the province, received him kindly, and gave him an army.

THIS wiſe man addreſſed him in the following manner: "It is not towards the north where vengeance "would naturally call thee, that thy ſteps muſt be di-"rected. Soldiers enervated by the pleaſures of India, "could not without temerity attack warriors famous "for their courage and their victories. Heaven has "conducted thee to the banks of the Indus, in order to "fix upon thy brow, one of the richeſt diadems of the "univerſe. Caſt thine eyes on Indoſtan. That empire, "torn in pieces by the inceſſant wars of the Indians "and Patans, calls for a maſter. It is in thoſe delight-"ful regions that thou muſt eſtabliſh a new monarchy, "and raiſe thy glory equal to that of the formidable "Tamerlane."

THIS judicious advice made a ſtrong impreſſion on the mind of Babar. A plan of uſurpation was traced out without loſs of time, and purſued with activity and ſkill. Succeſs attended the execution. The northern provinces,

BOOK IV.

provinces, not excepting Delhi, ſubmitted after ſome reſiſtance, and thus a fugitive monarch had the honour of laying the foundation of the power of the Mogul Tartars, which ſubſiſts to this day.

THE preſervation of this conqueſt required a form of government. That which Babar found eſtabliſhed in India was a kind of deſpotiſm, merely relative to civil matters, tempered by cuſtoms, forms and opinion; in a word, adapted to that mildneſs which theſe nations derive from the influence of the climate, and from the more powerful influence of religious tenets. To this peaceable conſtitution, Babar ſubſtituted a violent, and military deſpotiſm, ſuch as might be expected from a conquering and barbarous nation.

RANGUILDAS was long witneſs to the power of the new ſovereign, and exulted in the ſucceſs of his own councils. The recollection of the ſteps he had taken to place his maſter's ſon upon the throne, filled his ſoul with heart-felt ſatisfaction. One day, as he was praying in the temple, he heard a Banian, who ſtood by him, cry out, "O God! thou ſeeſt the ſufferings of my "brethren. We are a prey to a young man who con- "ſiders us as his property, which he may ſquander and "conſume as he pleaſes. Among the many children "who call upon thee from theſe vaſt regions, one op- "preſſes all the reſt: avenge us of the tyrant; avenge "us of the traitors who have placed him on the "throne, without examining whether he was a juſt "man."

RANGUILDAS, aſtoniſhed, drew near to the Banian, and ſaid; "O thou, who curſeſt my old age, hear me. "If I am guilty, my conſcience has miſled me. When "I reſtored the inheritance to the ſon of my ſovereign, "when I expoſed my life and fortune to eſtabliſh his "authority, God is my witneſs that I thought I was

"acting

" acting in conformity to his wife decrees; and at the
" very inſtant when I heard thy prayer, I was again
" thanking heaven for granting me, in my latter days,
" thoſe two greateſt of bleſſings, reſt and glory."

" GLORY? cries the Banian. Learn, Ranguildas,
" that glory belongs only to virtue, and not to actions
" which are only ſplendid, without being uſeful to
" mankind. Alas! what advantages did you procure
" to Indoſtan, when you crowned the ſon of an uſurper?
" Had you previouſly examined whether he was ca-
" pable of doing good, and whether he would have
" the will and reſolution to be juſt? You ſay, you
" have reſtored to him the inheritance of his fathers, as
" if men could be bequeathed and poſſeſſed like lands
" and cattle. Pretend not to glory, O Ranguildas! or
" if you look for gratitude, go and ſeek it in the heart
" of Babar; he owes it to you. You have bought it
" dear enough; the price has been the happineſs of a
" whole nation."

BABAR, however, whilſt he was bringing his ſubjects under the yoke of deſpotiſm, took care to limit its authority, and to draw up his inſtitutes with ſo much force, that his ſucceſſors, though abſolute, could not poſſibly be unjuſt. The prince was to be the judge of the people and the arbiter of the ſtate; but his tribunal and his council were to be held in the public ſquare. Injuſtice and tyranny love darkneſs in order to conceal themſelves from their intended victims. But when the monarch's actions are to be ſubmitted to the inſpection of his ſubjects, it is a ſign he intends them nothing but good. Openly to inſult a number of men aſſembled, is ſuch an outrage as even a tyrant would bluſh at.

THE principal ſupport of his authority was a body of four thouſand men, who ſtiled themſelves the firſt ſlaves of the prince. Out of this body were choſen the Omrahs,

BOOK IV.

rahs, that is to ſay, thoſe perſons who compoſed the emperor's councils, and on whom he beſtowed lands, diſtinguiſhed by great privileges. Theſe ſort of poſſeſſions always reverted to the crown. It was on this condition that all great offices were given. So true it is, that deſpotiſm enriches its ſlaves only to ſtrip them.

GREAT intereſt, however, was made for the place of Omrah. Whoever aſpired to the government of a province, made this the object of his ambition. To prevent any projects the governors might form for their own aggrandizement or independence, they always had overſeers placed about them, who were not in the leaſt ſubject to them, and who were commiſſioned to inſpect the uſe they made of the military force they were entruſted with, to keep the conquered Indians in awe. The fortified towns were frequently in the hands of officers, who were accountable to none but the court. That ſuſpicious court often ſent for the governor, and either continued or turned him out, as it happened to ſuit her fluctuating policy. Theſe viciſſitudes were grown ſo common, that a new governor coming out of Delhi, remained upon his elephant with his face turned towards the city, *waiting*, as he ſaid, *to ſee his ſucceſſor come out.*

THE form of government, however, was not the ſame throughout the empire. The Moguls had left ſeveral Indian princes in poſſeſſion of their ſovereignties, and even with a power of tranſmitting them to their deſcendents. They governed according to the laws of the country, though accountable to a nabob appointed by the court. They were only obliged to pay tribute, and to conform to the conditions ſtipulated with their anceſtors at the time of the conqueſt.

THE conquering nation muſt not have committed any conſiderable ravages, ſince it does not yet conſtitute more

more then a tenth part of the population of India. There are a hundred millions of Indians to ten millions of Tartars. The two nations have never intermixed. None but Indians are farmers and artificers. They alone live in the country, and carry on the manufactures. The Mohammedans are to be found in the capital, at court, in great cities, in camps and armies.

It appears, that at that period when the Moguls entered Indoſtan, they found no private property. All the lands belonged to the Indian princes; and it may eaſily be imagined that ſavage conquerors ſunk in ignorance and avarice, did not rectify this abuſe, which is the utmoſt ſtretch of arbitrary power. That portion of the lands of the empire which the new ſovereigns call their own, was divided into large governments, which were called ſubah-ſhips. The ſubahs, who were entruſted with the civil and military government, were alſo appointed to receive the revenues. This they committed to the care of the nabobs, whom they eſtabliſhed throughout their ſubah-ſhips; and theſe again truſted this buſineſs to private farmers, whoſe immediate buſineſs it was to cultivate the lands.

At the beginning of their year, which is in June, the nabob's officers agreed with the farmers for the price of a leaſe. They drew up a deed, called jama-bandi, which was depoſited in the chancery of the province; after which the farmers went, each in his own diſtrict, to look for huſbandmen, and advanced them conſiderable ſums to enable them to ſow the ground. After harveſt, the farmers remitted the produce of their leaſe to the nabob's officers. The nabob delivered it to the ſubah, and the ſubah poured it into the emperor's treaſures. The leaſes were commonly for half the produce of the land; the other half went to pay

BOOK IV.

pay the charges of culture, to enrich the farmers and to feed the labourers. In this ſyſtem were compriſed, not only grain, which is the principal crop, but all other productions of the earth. Betel, ſalt, tobacco, were all farmed in the ſame manner.

THERE were alſo ſome cuſtom-houſes, and ſome duties upon the public markets; but no poll-tax, or any tax upon induſtry. It had not entered the heads of thoſe arbitrary rulers, to demand any thing of men who had nothing left them. The weaver ſitting at his loom, worked without ſolicitude, and freely diſpoſed of the fruit of his labour.

THIS liberty extended to every kind of moveables. They were truly the property of private perſons, who were not accountable to any perſon for them. They could diſpoſe of them in their life-time; and after their death, they devolved to their offspring. The houſes of artificers, the town-houſes with the little gardens belonging to them, were likewiſe accounted private property. They were hereditary and might be ſold.

IN the latter caſe, the buyer and ſeller appeared before the Cothoal. The conditions of the bargain were drawn up in writing, and the Cothoal affixed his ſeal to the deed, to make it authentic.

THE ſame formality was obſerved with regard to the purchaſe of ſlaves; that is, of thoſe unfortunate men, who, under the preſſure of poverty, choſe rather to be in bondage to one man who allowed them a ſubſiſtence, than to live under that general ſlavery, in which they had no means of procuring the neceſſaries of life. They then ſold themſelves for a ſum of money, and this was tranſacted in preſence of the Cothoal, that the maſter's property might not be conteſted.

THE

THE Cothoal was a kind of notary public. There was one in every manufacture. It was before him that the few deeds were tranſacted, which the nature of ſuch a government would admit of. Another officer, called Jemidar, decided all differences that aroſe between man and man, and his deciſions were almoſt always definitive, unleſs the cauſe was a very important one, or unleſs the aggrieved party was rich enough to pay for having it reverſed at the nabob's court. The Jemidar was likewiſe intruſted with the police. He had a power of inflicting ſlight puniſhments; but all capital offences were reſerved for the judgment of the nabob, as he alone had a right to pronounce ſentence of death.

SUCH a government, which was no better than a ſubordinate deſpotiſm from the throne down to the meaneſt officer, could have no other ſpring than a coercive power conſtantly exerted. Accordingly, as ſoon as the rainy ſeaſon was over, the monarch quitted his capital and reſided in the camp. The nabobs, the rajas, and the principal officers were ſummoned to attend him and in this manner he proceeded through all the provinces ſucceſſively in warlike pomp, which did not, however, exclude political craft. One great man was often employed to oppreſs another. The moſt odious refinement of deſpotiſm is that of dividing its ſlaves. Theſe diviſions were fomented by informers, publicly kept by the prince, who were continally ſpreading alarm and terror. Theſe informers were always choſen among perſons of the firſt rank. Corruption is then at its height, when power can confer nobility on what is mean.

EVERY year, the great Mogul ſet out on his progreſs, more as a conqueror than as a ſovereign. He went to adminiſter juſtice in the provinces, as if he was going to plunder them, and maintained his authority by a parade of military force, which makes arbitrary government a

BOOK IV.

perpetual war. This manner of governing, though with legal forms, is very dangerous for the monarch. So long as the people feel their wrongs, only through the channel of thoſe who are inveſted with his authority, they only murmur, upon the ſuppoſition that the ſovereign is ignorant of them, aud would not ſuffer any injuſtice if he knew it: but when the ſovereign gives it a ſanction by his preſence and by his own deciſions, then all confidence is at an end: the deception vaniſhes: he was a God; now he is an ideot, or a wicked man.

NEVERTHELESS the Mogul emperors have long enjoyed the ſuperſtitious idea the nation had conceived of their ſacred character. That outward pomp which captivates the people more than juſtice, becauſe men are more ſtruck with what dazzles their eyes than with what is beneficial to them; the richneſs and elegance of the prince's court; the grandeur that ſurrounded him in his travels; all this kept up in the minds of the people thoſe prejudices of ſervile ignorance, which trembles before the idol it has raiſed, The various accounts that have been tranſmitted to us of the luxury of the moſt brilliant courts in the world, are not to be compared to the oſtentatious pomp of the Great Mogul when he appears before his ſubjects. The elephants, formerly ſo dreadful in war, but which are become uſeleſs maſſes in an army ſince the introduction of gunpowder; theſe immenſe animals that are unknown in our climates, give an Aſiatic monarch an air of grandeur, of which we have no conception. The people fall proſtrate before their majeſtic ſovereign, who ſits exalted upon a throne of gold, all glittering with precious ſtones, mounted on the haughty animal, who proceeds ſlowly, proud to preſent the maſter of the great empire to the reſpect of ſo many ſlaves.

Thus

Thus by dazzling the eyes of men, or inſpiring them with terror, the Moguls preſerved, and even enlarged their conqueſts. Aurengzebe completed them by making himſelf maſter of the whole peninſula. All Indoſtan, excepting a little ſlip of land along the coaſt of Malabar, ſubmitted to that ſuperſtitious and barbarous tyrant, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his father, his brother, and his nephews.

THIS execrable deſpot, had made the Mogul power an object of deteſtation, but he ſupported it as long as he lived. At his death it fell, never to riſe again. The uncertainty as to the right of ſucceſſion was the firſt cauſe of the diſturbances that aroſe after his demiſe, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Only one law was generally acknowledged, that which enacted that the ſcepter ſhould never go out of the family of Tamerlane; but every emperor was at liberty to chuſe his ſucceſſor, without being obliged to regard the degree of conſanguinity. This indefinite right proved a ſource of diſcord. Young princes, whoſe birth entitled them to expect the crown, and who frequently were at the head of a province and an army, ſupported their claim ſword in hand, and paid little regard to the will of a monarch who was no more. This happened at the death of Aurengzebe. His rich ſpoils were ſtained with blood. In theſe convulſions of the body politic, the ſprings that reſtrained a militia of twelve hundred thouſand men were ſlackened. Every nabob aimed at being independent, at increaſing the contributions raiſed upon the people, and leſſening the tributes ſent into the emperor's treaſure. No longer was any thing regulated by law, all was carried on by caprice or diſturbed by violence.

BOOK IV.

THE education of the young princes promiſe no remedy for all theſe evils. Left to the care of women till the age of ſeven years, tutored afterwards in ſome religious principles, they went and ſpent in the ſoft indulgences of a ſeraglio thoſe years of youth and activity which ought to be employed in forming the man, and inſtructing him in the knowledge of life. They took care to enervate them, that they might have nothing to fear from them. Conſpiracies of children againſt their fathers were but too common; to prevent theſe, therefore, the children were deprived of every virtue, leſt they ſhould be capable of a crime. Hence that ſhocking thought of an oriental poet, that *fathers, whilſt their ſons are living, are fondeſt of their grandſons, becauſe they love in them the enemies of their enemies.*

THE Moguls had retained nothing of thoſe hardy manners they had brought from their mountains. Thoſe who were advanced to high offices, or had acquired large fortunes, removed their habitations according to the ſeaſons. In theſe more or leſs delightful retreats, they lived in houſes, built only of clay or earth, but the inſide breathed all the Aſiatic indulgence with all the pomp of the moſt corrupted courts. Wherever men cannot raiſe a laſting fortune, nor tranſmit it to their poſterity, they make haſte to crowd all their enjoyments in the only moment they can call their own. All their pleaſures and their very exiſtence are paſſed away in the midſt of perfumes and women.

THE Mogul empire was in this ſtate of weakneſs and effeminacy when it was attacked in 1738 by the famous Thamas Kouli-khan. The innumerable militias of India were diſperſed without reſiſtance before a hundred thouſand Perſians, as thoſe very Perſians had formerly fled before thirty thouſand Greeks trained up by Alexander

der. Thamas entered triumphantly into Delhi, received the homage of the weak Mahomed, and finding the monarch ſtill more ſtupid than his ſubjects, he ſuffered him to live and returned loaded with an immenſe booty, the ſpoils of Indoſtan.

MAHOMED, deſpiſed by this conqueror, was ſtill more ſo by his ſubjects. The great men would not ſerve under a vaſſal of the king of Perſia. The nabobſhips became independent, only paying a ſmall tribute. In vain did the emperor declare that the nabobs ſhould ſtill be removeable, each of them ſtrove with all his power to make his dignity hereditary, and the ſword decided every quarrel. The ſubjects were conſtantly at war with their maſter, and were not conſidered as rebels. Whoever could afford to pay a body of troops, pretended to a ſovereignty. The only formality obſerved was to counterfeit the emperor's ſign manual in a firman or warrant of inveſtiture. It was brought to the uſurper, who received it on his knees. This farce was neceſſary to impoſe upon the people, who had ſtill reſpect enough remaining for the family of Tamerlane, to chooſe that all authority ſhould, at leaſt, appear to proceed from it.

THUS did diſcord, ambition and anarchy rend this fine region of Indoſtan. Crimes could the more eaſily be concealed, as it was the cuſtom of the grandees never to write but in ambiguous terms, and to employ none but obſcure agents, whom they diſowned when they found it neceſſary. Murder and poiſon became common crimes, which were buried in the dark receſſes of thoſe impenetrable palaces, full of Satellites, ever ready to perpetrate the blackeſt acts on the leaſt ſignal from their maſter.

THE foreign troops that were called in by the contending parties, completed the miſeries of this unhappy country. They carried off the riches of the

BOOK IV.

land, or obliged the owners to bury them under ground; ſo that the treaſures amaſſed for ſo many ages gradually diſappeared. A general dejection enſued. The grounds lay fallow, and the manufactures ſtood ſtill. The people would no longer work for foreign plunderers, or domeſtic oppreſſors. Want and famine were ſoon felt. Theſe calamities, which for ten years had had infeſted the provinces of the empire, began to viſit the coaſt of Coromandel. The wiſe Nizam-Al-Muluck, Subah of the Decan, was now no more. His prudence and talents had kept that part of India which he commanded in the flouriſhing ſtate. The European merchants were apprehenſive that their trade might fail when it had loſt that ſupport. They ſaw no reſource againſt that danger, but to have a territory of their own, large enough to contain a number of manufactures ſufficient to make up their ladings.

Dupleix was the firſt who conſidered this as a practicable ſcheme. The war had brought many troops to Pondicherry, with which he hoped by rapid conqueſts, to procure greater advantages than the rival nations had obtained by ſteady conduct, and mature deliberation.

He had long ſtudied the character of the Moguls, their intrigues, their political intereſts. He had acquired ſuch knowledge of theſe matters, as might have been ſurprizing even in a man brought up at the court of Delhi. Theſe informations deeply combined, had convinced him that it would be in his power to attain a principal influence in the affairs of Indoſtan, poſſibly, to manage them as he pleaſed. His daring ſpirit, which prompted him to attempt more than he was able to perform, gave additional ſtrength to his reflections. Nothing terrified him in the great part he propoſed to act at the diſtance of ſix thouſand leagues from his native country. In vain did his friends repreſent to him the

the dangers attending ſuch an undertaking; he conſidered nothing but the glorious advantage of ſecuring to France a new dominion in the heart of Aſia; to enable her by the revenues annexed to it, to defray the charges of trade and the expences of ſovereignty; and even to free her from the tribute which our luxury pays to the induſtry of the Indians, by procuring rich and numerous cargoes, which ſhould not be bought with any exports of money, but from the overflowings of the new revenues. Full of this great project, Dupleix eagerly ſeized the firſt opportunity that offered to put it in execution, and ſoon took upon him to diſpoſe of the ſubahſhip of the Decan and the nabobſhip of the Carnatic, in favour of two men who were ready to give up any thing he ſhould require.

THE ſubahſhip of the Decan is a vice-royaltry, made up of ſeveral provinces, which were formerly ſo many independent ſtates. It extends from Cape Comorin to the Ganges. The ſubah has the inſpection of all the Indian princes and all the Mogul governors within his juriſdiction; and in his hands are depoſited the contributions that are deſtined to fill the public treaſure. He can compel his ſubalterns to attend him in all military expeditions he may think proper to make into the countries under his dominion, but he muſt not march them into a foreign territory, without an expreſs order from the emperor.

THE ſubahſhip of the Decan becoming vacant in 1748, Dupleix, after a ſeries of events and revolutions, in which the corruption of the Moguls, the weakneſs of the Indians, and the boldneſs of the French, were alike conſpicuous, diſpoſed of it towards the beginning of the year 1751, in favour of Salabatzing, a ſon of the late viceroy.

THIS ſucceſs ſecured great advantages to the French ſettlements along the coaſt of Coromandel; but Pondicherry

BOOK IV.

cherry was a place of such importance, that our people thought it deserved a particular attention. This town, which is situated in the Carnatic, has such constant and immediate connections with the nabob of that rich district, that it was thought adviseable to procure the government of the province to a man whose affection and submission might be depended on. The choice fell upon Chundasaeb, a kinsman of the late nabob, well known for his intrigues, his misfortunes, his warlike exploits and his steadiness of temper.

In return for their services, the French made him give up an immense territory. At the head of their acquisitions was the island of Seringham, formed by the two branches of the Caveri. This long and fertile island derives its name and its consequence from a Pagoda, which is fortified, as most great buildings are, which are devoted to public worship. The temple is surrounded with seven square inclosures, at the distance of three hundred and fifty feet from each other, and formed by pretty high walls, which are proportionably thick. The altar stands in the center. A single monument like this, with its fortifications and the mysteries and riches it contains, is more likely to enforce and perpetuate a religion than a multiplicity of temples and priests dispersed in different towns, with their sacrifices, ceremonies, prayers and discourses, which by their number, their frequent repetition, and their being performed in public, are apt to tire the people; excite the contempt of enlightened reason; occasion dangerous profanation, or are slighted and neglected, which the priests dread more than sacrilege itself. The priests of India, as wise as those of Egypt, suffer no stranger to penetrate into the Pagoda of Seringham. Amidst the fables with which the history of this temple is wrapped up, probably, some acute philosopher might, if he was admitted into it, trace from the emblems, the form and construction

of

of the edifice, and the superſtitious practices and traditions peculiar to that ſacred incloſure, many ſources of inſtruction and an inſight into the hiſtory of the remoteſt ages. Pilgrims reſort thither from all parts of Indoſtan, to obtain abſolution of their ſins, and always bring an offering proportionable to their circumſtances. Theſe gifts were ſtill ſo conſiderable at the beginning of the preſent century, as to maintain forty thouſand men in a life of ſloth and idleneſs. Theſe Bramins, though under the reſtraints of ſubordination, were ſeldom known to quit their retirement for the more buſy ſcenes of intrigue and politics.

INDEPENDENT of other advantages which the French enjoyed by the acquiſition of Seringham, the ſituation gave them great influence over the neighbouring countries, and abſolute command over the kingdom of Tanjour, as they could at any time ſtop the waters that were wanted for the culture of their rice.

THE territories of Karical and Pondicherry got an acceſſion of ten leagues each, with fourſcore manufactures. If theſe acquiſitions were not ſo conſiderable as that of Seringham in point of influence over public affairs, they were much more ſo with regard to trade.

BUT this was a trifling acquiſition compared to the territory they gained to the north, which comprehended the Condavir, Maſulipatam, the iſland of Divi, and the four provinces of Muſtafanagar, Elur, Rajamandry, and Chicakol. Such important conceſſions made the French maſters of the coaſt for the ſpace of ſix hundred miles, and procured them the beſt linen of all Indoſtan. It is true they were to enjoy the four provinces no longer than they ſhould furniſh the ſubah with a ſtipulated number of troops, and maintain them at their own expence; but this agreement, which

was

BOOK IV.

was only binding to their honeſty, gave them little concern. Their ambition previouſly ſeized upon thoſe treaſures that had been heaped up in thoſe vaſt regions for ſo many ages.

THE ambition of the French, and their projects of conqueſt, went much further ſtill. They purpoſed to obtain a ceſſion of the capital of the Portugueſe colonies, and to ſeize upon the triangular ſpace which lies between Maſulipatam, Goa and Cape Comorin.

IN the mean time, till they could realize theſe brilliant chimeras they conſidered the perſonal honours that were laviſhed upon Dupleix as a preſage of the greateſt proſperity. It is well known that every foreign colony is more or leſs odious to the natives; that it is good policy to endeavour to leſſen that averſion, and that the ſureſt way to attain that end, is to conform as much as poſſible to the cuſtoms and manners of the country. This maxim, which is true in general, is more particularly ſo in countries where the people think but little, and is conſequently ſo in India.

THE French commander, who was fond of the Aſiatic pomp, had no objection to this conformity. He was overjoyed when he ſaw himſelf inveſted with the dignity of a nabob. That title put him upon a level with thoſe whoſe protection he ſolicited before, and afforded him conſiderable opportunities to pave the way for thoſe great revolutions he meant to bring about, in order to promote the important intereſts he was intruſted with. He entertained ſtill greater hopes on being appointed governor of all the Mogul poſſeſſions, throughout an extent little inferior to the whole kingdom of France. All the revenues of thoſe rich provinces were to be depoſited in his hands, and he was accountable to none but the Subah himſelf.

THOUGH theſe agreements entered into by merchants could not be very pleaſing to the court of Delhi, they

they were not much afraid of its reſentment. The emperor, being in want of men and money, which the Subahs, the Nabobs, the Rajas, his meaneſt delegates, took upon themſelves to refuſe him, found himſelf aſſaulted on all ſides.

THE Rajaputes, deſcended from thoſe Indians whom Alexander fought, being driven out of their lands by the Moguls, took ſhelter in ſome mountains that are almoſt inacceſſible. Continual diſturbances put it out of their power to think of conqueſts; but in the intervals of their diſſentions, they make inroads that cannot fail of harraſſing an empire already exhauſted.

THE Patans are ſtill more formidable enemies. Driven by the Moguls from moſt of the thrones of Indoſtan, they have taken refuge at the foot of mount Imaüs, which is a branch of the Caucaſus. That ſituation has ſtrangely altered their manners, and given them a fierceneſs of temper which they had not in a milder climate. War is their chief employment. They ſerve alike under the banners of Indian or Mohammedan princes; but their obedience is not equal to their valour. Whatever crime they may have been guilty of, it is dangerous to puniſh them, for they are ſo vindictive, that they will murder when they are weak, and revolt when they are ſtrong enough to attempt a bold ſtroke. Since the reigning power has loſt its ſtrength, the nation has ſhaken off the yoke. Not many years ago, their generals carried on their ravages as far as Delhi, and dreadfully plundered that capital.

To the north of Indoſtan is a nation, but lately known, which is the more formidable for being a new enemy. This people, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Scheiks, have found means to free themſelves from the chains of deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition, though ſurrounded by nations of ſlaves. They are ſaid to be followers of a philoſopher of the Thibet, who inſpired them with

ſome

BOOK IV.

ſome notions of liberty, and taught them Theiſm without any mixture of ſuperſtition. They firſt appeared in the beginning of the preſent century; but were then conſidered rather as a ſect than as a nation. During the calamities of the Mogul empire, their number increaſed conſiderably by apoſtates of all religions who joined with them, and ſought ſhelter amongſt them from the oppreſſions and fury of their tyrants. To be admitted of that ſociety, nothing more is required than to ſwear implacable hatred againſt monarchy. It is aſſerted, that they have a temple with an altar, on which ſtands their code of laws, and next to it a ſceptre and a dagger. Four old men are elected, who occaſionally conſult the law, which is the only ſupreme power this republic obeys. The Scheiks actually poſſeſs the whole province of Punjal, the greateſt part of the Moultan and the Sindi, both banks of the Indus, from Caſſimere to Tatta, and all the country towards Delhi, from Lahor to Serhend: they can raiſe an army of ſixty thouſand good cavalry.

But of all the enemies of the Mogul, none are, perhaps, ſo dangerous as the Marattas. This nation, of late ſo famous, ſo far as the obſcurity of their origin and hiſtory will allow us to conjecture, poſſeſſed ſeveral provinces of Indoſtan, whence they were driven by the fear or the arms of the Moguls. They fled into the mountains which extend from Surat to Goa, and there formed ſeveral tribes, which in proceſs of time united into one ſtate, of which Satarah was the capital.

Most of them carried vice and licentiouſneſs to all the exceſſes which might be expected from an ignorant people, who have caſt off the yoke of prejudices, without ſubſtituting wholeſome laws and ſound learning in their ſtead. Tired of laudable and peaceful labours, they thought of nothing but rapine. Yet this was confined to the plundering of a few villages, and robbing of ſome caravans, till the coaſt of Coromandel, being

being threatened by Aurengzebe, made them ſenſible of their ſtrength, by imploring their aſſiſtance.

THEN it was that they were ſeen coming out of their hiding places in the rocks, riding on ſmall ugly horſes, but ſtout and accuſtomed to hard fare, to difficult roads and to exceſſive fatigue. The whole accoutrement of a Maratta horſeman conſiſted of a turban, a girdle, and a cloak. His proviſions were a little bag of rice and a leather bottle full of water. His only weapon was an excellent ſabre.

NOTWITHSTANDING the aſſiſtance of theſe barbarians, the Indian princes were forced to bend to the yoke of Aurengzebe; but the conqueror, weary of contending with irregular troops, which were continually ravaging the newly reduced provinces, determined to conclude a treaty that would have been diſhonourable had it not been dictated by neceſſity, which is ſtronger than prejudices, oaths and laws. He ceded for ever to the Marattas the fourth part of the revenues of the Decan, a ſubahſhip, formed out of all his uſurpations in the peninſula.

THIS kind of tribute was regularly paid as long as Aurengzebe lived. After his death, it was granted or refuſed according to circumſtances. The levying of it brought the Marattas in arms to the remoteſt parts of their mountains. Their boldneſs increaſed during the anarchy of Indoſtan. They have made the empire tremble; they have depoſed monarchs; they have extended their frontiers; they have granted their protection to rajas and nabobs who ſtrove to be independent; and their influence has been unbounded.

WHILST the court of Delhi was with difficulty contending with ſo many enemies, all conſpiring to effect its ruin, M. de Buſſy, who, with a ſmall corps of French troops and an army of Indians, had conducted Salabatzing to Aurengabad his capital, laboured to eſtabliſh him

BOOK IV.

him on the throne where he had placed him. The imbecillity of the prince, the conſpiracies which it occaſioned, the firmans or privileges which had been granted to rivals, and other impediments obſtructed but could not overturn his projects. By his means the prince reigned more peaceably under the protection of the French than could have been expected, conſidering the circumſtances of this ſituation, and he preſerved him in an abſolute independence on the head of the empire.

CHUNDASAEB, appointed nabob of the Carnatic, was not in ſo happy a ſituation. The Engliſh, ever in oppoſition to the French, had ſtirred him up a rival, named Mohammed-Ali-Khan. The names of thoſe two princes ſerved as pretence for carrying on a briſk war between the two nations; they fought for glory, for wealth, to ſerve the paſſions of their reſpective commanders, Dupleix and Saunders. Victory declared alternately for both armies. Succeſs would not have been ſo fluctuating, had the governor of Madraſs had more troops, or the governor of Pondicherry better officers. It was difficult to conjecture which of theſe two men, who were both of the ſame inflexible temper, would in the end get the better; but it was very certain that neither would ſubmit, whilſt he had a ſoldier or a rupee left. Nor was it likely that either of them would ſoon be reduced to this extremity, notwithſtanding their amazing efforts, becauſe they both found ſuch reſources in their hatred and their genius, as even the moſt able men could not have any conception of. It was evident that the diſturbances in the Carnatic would not be at an end, unleſs peace was firſt ſettled in Europe; and it was to be feared that the flame which had been confined to India for ſix years might ſpread further. The miniſters of France and England obviated this danger, by enjoining the two companies to fix certain terms of agreement.

ment. They made a conditional treaty, which began by ſuſpending all hoſtilities at the commencement of the year 1755, and was to end by eſtabliſhing between them a perfect equality of territory, of ſtrength and of trade, on the coaſts of Coromandel and Orixa. This ſtipulation had not yet received the ſanction of the courts of London and Verſailles, when greater intereſts kindled a freſh war between the two nations.

Wars between the Engliſh and French.

THE news of this great contention, which began in North America, and ſpread all over the world, reached the Eaſt Indies at a time when the Engliſh were engaged in a very troubleſome war with the Subah of Bengal. Had the French been then in the ſame ſtate they were ſome years before, they would have united their intereſts with thoſe of the natives. From narrow views and ill-judged intereſts, they were deſirous of entering into a formal convention to ſecure the neutrality which had ſubſiſted on the banks of the Ganges, during the laſt diſturbances. Their rival amuſed them with the hopes of ſettling this regulation, ſo long as they wanted to keep them in a ſtate of inaction. But as ſoon as their ſucceſſes had enabled them to make their own terms, they attacked Chandernagore. The taking of this place was followed by the ruin of all the factories dependent upon it, and put the Engliſh in a condition to ſend men, money, proviſions, and ſhips to the coaſt of Coromandel, where the French were juſt arrived with conſiderable land and ſea-forces.

The French loſe all their ſettlements.

THESE forces, deſtined to protect the ſettlements of their own nation and deſtroy thoſe of the enemy, were more than ſufficient to anſwer both thoſe purpoſes. The only point was to make a proper uſe of them; but they ſet out wrong, as will plainly appear from the following obſervations.

BEFORE the commencement of the war, the company poſſeſſed on the coaſts of Coromandel and Orixa, Maſulipatam

BOOK IV.

Maſulipatam with five provinces; a large ſpace round Pondicherry which had long had but a ſlip of land; a domain nearly as large in the neighbourhood of Karical; and laſtly the iſland of Seringham. Theſe poſſeſſions made four vaſt tracts of country, too far diſtant to ſupport each other. They bore the marks of the wild fancy and extravagant imagination of Dupleix, who had made theſe acquiſitions.

The error of this policy might have been corrected. Dupleix, who made amends for his defects by his great qualities, had brought matters to that pitch that he was offered the perpetual government of the Carnatic. It was the moſt flouriſhing province in all the Mogul empire. By ſingular and fortunate circumſtances, it had been governed ſucceſſively by three nabobs of the ſame family, who had been equally attentive to culture and induſtry. General felicity had been the fruit of this mild and generous behaviour, and the public revenues had increaſed to twelve millions. (525,000*l.*) A ſixth part would have been giving to Salabatzing, and the reſt would have been for the company.

If the miniſtry and the direction, who alternately ſupported and neglected their power in India, had but been capable of a firm and ſettled reſolution, they might have ſent orders to their agent to give up all the remote conqueſts, and to keep to that important ſettlement. It was alone ſufficient to give the French a firm eſtabliſhment, a cloſe and contiguous ſtate, a prodigious quantity of merchandiſe, proviſions for their fortified towns, and revenues capable of maintaining a body of troops, which would have put them in a condition to defy the jealouſy of their neighbours, and the hatred of their enemies. Unfortunately for them, the court of Verſailles ordered that the Carnatic ſhould be refuſed, and affairs remained as they were before that propoſal.

The

THE ſituation was critical. Dupleix was, perhaps, the only man who could ſupport himſelf in it, or in his ſtead, the famous officer who had had the greateſt ſhare of his confidence, and was beſt acquainted with his ſchemes. The contrary opinion prevailed. Dupleix had been recalled. The general, who was appointed to conduct the Indian war, imagined he muſt demoliſh a ſtructure which ought only to have been propped up in thoſe troubleſome times, and he loudly proclaimed his intentions, and thereby added to the imprudence of his reſolutions.

THAT man, whoſe ungovernable temper could never adapt itſelf to circumſtances, had received from nature no qualities that fitted him for command. He was governed by a gloomy, impetuous and irregular imagination, ſo that there was a perpetual contraſt between his converſation and his projects, and between his actions and his proceedings. Paſſionate, ſuſpicious, jealous, and poſitive to exceſs, he created an univerſal diffidence and dejection, and excited animoſities never to be ſuppreſſed. His military operations, his civil government, his political combinations, all bore evident marks of the confuſion of his ideas.

THE evacuation of the iſland of Seringham was the principal cauſe of the diſaſters that attended the war with Tanjour. Maſulipatam and the northern provinces were loſt, from having given up the alliance of Salabatzing. The leſſer powers of the Carnatic, who no longer reſpected the French for the ſake of their old friend the Subah of the Decan, completed the general ruin by eſpouſing other intereſts.

ON the other hand, the French ſquadron, though ſuperior to the Engliſh, with which it had engaged three ſeveral times, without gaining any advantage over it, at laſt was obliged to leave it maſter of the

BOOK IV.

ſeas, by which the loſs of India was decided. Pondicherry, after ſtruggling with all the horrors of famine, was forced to ſurrender on the 15th of January 1761. Lally had, the day before, corrected a plan of capitulation drawn up by the council; he had named deputies to carry it to the enemy's camp; and by a contradiction that was characteriſtic of the man, he gave the deputies a letter for the Engliſh general, in which he told him, *he would have no capitulation, becauſe the Engliſh were that kind of people that they would not adhere to it.*

In taking poſſeſſion of the place, the conqueror cauſed not only the troops that had defended it, but all the French in the company's ſervice, to be ſhipped off for Europe; and not ſatisfied even with that revenge, they deſtroyed Pondicherry, and made that noble city a heap of ruins.

Those of the inhabitants who were ſent over to France, came thither enraged at having loſt their fortunes, and ſeen their houſes pulled down as they drew off from the ſhore. They filled Paris with their clamours; they devoted their governor to the indignation of the public; they informed againſt him as the author of all their miſeries, and the ſole cauſe of the loſs of a flouriſhing colony. Lally was taken up, and tried by the parliament. He had been accuſed of high treaſon and extortion; of the firſt he was acquitted, and the ſecond was never proved; yet Lally was condemned to loſe his head.

Let us aſk, in the name of humanity, what his crime was that it ſhould be puniſhable by law? The awful ſword of juſtice was not put into the hands of the magiſtrate to gratify private reſentment, or even to follow the emotions of public indignation. The law alone muſt point out its own victims; and if the clamours of a blind and incenſed multitude could ſway with the judges

judges to pronounce a capital ſentence, the innocent might ſuffer for the guilty, and there would be no ſafety for the citizen. In this point of view let us examine the ſentence.

It declares that Lally ſtands convicted *of having betrayed the intereſts of the king, of the ſtate, and of the India company.* What is meant by betraying of intereſts? What law is there that makes it death to be guilty of this vague and indefinite crime? No ſuch law either does or can exiſt. The diſgrace of the prince, the contempt of the nation, public infamy, theſe are the proper puniſhments for the man, who, from incapacity or folly, has not ſerved his country as he ought: but death, and that too upon a ſcaffold, is deſtined for crimes of a different nature.

The ſentence further declares that Lally ſtands convicted *of vexations, exactions, and abuſe of authority.* No doubt he was guilty of theſe in numberleſs inſtances. He made uſe of violent means to procure pecuniary aids; but this money was put into the public treaſure. He vexed and oppreſſed the citizens; but he never attempted to take away their lives, or to injure their honour. He erected gibbets in the market-place, but cauſed no one to be executed upon them.

In reality he was a madman of a dark and dangerous caſt; an odious and deſpicable man; a man totally incapable of command. But he was neither guilty of public extortions, nor treaſon; and to uſe the expreſſion of a philoſopher, whoſe virtues do honour to humanity, *every one had a right to kill Lally except the executioner.*

The misfortunes that befel the French in Aſia had been foreſeen by all conſiderate men, who reflected on the corruption of the nation. Their morals had degenerated chiefly in the voluptuous climate of the Indies. The wars which Dupleix had carried on in the inland

Cauſes of the misfortunes of the French.

BOOK IV.

parts had laid the foundation of many fortunes. They were increaſed and multiplied by the gifts which Salabatzing laviſhed on thoſe who conducted him triumphant into his capital, and ſettled him on the throne. The officers who had not ſhared the dangers, the glory and the benefits of thoſe brilliant expeditions, ſought to comfort themſelves under their misfortune, by reducing the ſipahis to half the number they were allowed, and applying their pay to their own benefit which they could eaſily do, as the money went through their hands. The agents for trade, who had not theſe reſources, accounted to the company but for a very ſmall part of the profits made upon the European goods they ſold, though they ought to have been all their own, and ſold them thoſe of India at a very high price which they ought to have had at prime coſt. Thoſe who were intruſted with the adminiſtration of ſome poſſeſſion, farmed it themſelves under Indian names, or let it for a trifle, upon receiving a handſome gratuity; they even frequently kept back the whole income of ſuch eſtates, under pretence of ſome imaginary robbery or devaſtation, which had made it impoſſible to recover it. All undertakings, of what nature ſoever, were clandeſtinely agreed upon: they were the prey of the perſons employed in them, who had found means to make themſelves formidable, or of ſuch as were moſt in favour, or richeſt. The ſolemn abuſe that prevails in India, of giving and receiving preſents on the concluſion of every treaty, had multiplied theſe tranſactions without neceſſity. The navigators who landed in thoſe parts, dazzled with the fortunes which they ſaw increaſed fourfold from one voyage to another, no longer regarded their ſhips, but as they were a vehicle to waft them to traffic and wealth. Corruption was carried to its greateſt height by people of rank, who had been diſ-

graced

graced and ruined at home; but who, being encouraged by what they ſaw, and impelled by the reports that were brought to them, reſolved to go themſelves into Aſia, in hopes of retrieving their ſhattered fortunes, or of being able to continue their irregularities with impunity. The perſonal conduct of the directors made it neceſſary for them to wink at all theſe diſorders. They were accuſed of attending to nothing in their office but the credit, the money and the power it gave them. They were accuſed of giving the moſt important poſts to their own relations, men of no morals, application or capacity. They were accuſed of multiplying the number of factors without neceſſity and without bounds to ſecure ſtiends in the city and at court. Laſtly, they were accuſed of furniſhing themſelves with what would have been bought cheaper and better in other places. Whether the government did not know of theſe exceſſes, or had not reſolution enough to put a ſtop to them, they were, by their blindneſs or their weakneſs, in ſome meaſure accomplices in the ruin of the affairs of the nation in India. They might even without injuſtice be charged with being the principal cauſe of them, by ſending ſuch improper perſons to manage and defend an important colony, which had no leſs to fear from its own corruption than from the Engliſh fleets and armies.

Steps taken in France to re-eſtabliſh affairs in India.

THE diſaſters of the company abroad, were ſtill aggravated by their ſituation at home. It was immediately thought adviſeable to lay a fair account of matters before the proprietors. This diſcovery alarmed them exceedingly, and gave riſe to a hundred different ſchemes, all equally abſurd. They haſtily paſſed from one to another, but were too full of uncertainty and diffidence to adopt any. The deliberations were carried on with too much aſperity, and precious moments were waſted in upbraidings and invectives. No one could foreſee where

BOOK IV.

theſe commotions would end, when a young merchant of quick parts, and a clear head aroſe. They liſtened to him; when the ſtorm immediately ſubſided, and freſh hopes began to dawn. All were unanimous in adopting his opinion. The company, which the enemies to all excluſive privileges wiſhed to ſee aboliſhed, ſtood its ground; but, it was put upon a better footing; a circumſtance which was abſolutely neceſſary.

AMONGST the cauſes which had involved the company in the diſtreſs they were in, there was one which had long been looked upon as the ſource of all the reſt; which was the dependence, or rather the ſlavery, in which the government had kept that great body for near half a century paſt.

EVER ſince the year 1723, the court enjoyed the power of chuſing the directors. In 1730, a commiſſary from the king was introduced into the adminiſtration of the company. This put an end to all freedom of debate in their deliberations; there was no longer any connection between the adminiſtrators and the proprietors; no immediate intercourſe between the adminiſtrators and government. All was directed by the influence and according to the views of the courtier. Secrecy, that dangerous veil of an arbitrary adminiſtration, concealed all their operations; and it was but in 1744, that the proprietors were called together. They were empowered to name ſyndics, and to call a general meeting once a year; but they were not the better informed of their affairs, nor more at liberty to direct them. The power of chuſing the directors was ſtill veſted in the crown, and inſtead of one commiſſary, the king choſe to have two.

THIS gave birth to two parties. Each commiſſary had his own ſcheme, his own favourites, and ſtrove to carry his point. Hence aroſe diviſions, intrigues, informations and animoſities, which had their center at Paris,

Paris, but ſpread as far as India, and there broke out in a manner ſo fatal to the nation.

THE miniſtry, ſhocked at the ſight of ſo many abuſes, and weary of thoſe endleſs conteſts, ſought for a remedy. It was imagined they had hit upon one, by appointing a third commiſſary. This expedient only ſerved to increaſe the miſchief. Deſpotiſm had reigned when there was but one; diviſion when there were two; but from the moment there were three, all was anarchy and confuſion. They reduced them to two, and endeavoured to make them agree as well as they could; and even in 1764 there was but one, when the proprietors deſired that the company might be reinſtated in its original conſtitution, by reſtoring its freedom.

THEY ventured to tell the government, they might impute the diſaſters and errors of the company to themſelves, as the proprietors had not been concerned in the management of their affairs: that they could never be carried on moſt advantageouſly both for them and for the ſtate, till this could be done with freedom, and till an immediate intercourſe was eſtabliſhed between the proprietors and adminiſtrators, and between the adminiſtrators and the miniſtry. That whenever there was an intermediate perſon, the orders given on one ſide, and the reports made on the other, would neceſſarily, in paſſing through his hands, take a tincture of his own private views and perſonal will; ſo that he would always be in fact the true and ſole adminiſtrator of the company. That ſuch an adminiſtrator, often deſtitute of intereſt, or knowledge of buſineſs, would always be ready to ſacrifice the welfare and true intereſt of trade, to the tranſient ſhew of his adminiſtration, and to the favour of placemen. That on the contrary, every thing might be expected from a free adminiſtration choſen by the proprietors, acting under their inſpection, and in concert with them, and ſubject to no ſort of reſtraint.

BOOK IV.

THE government was ſenſible of the truth of theſe reaſons. They ſecured the freedom of the company by a ſolemn edict; and the ſame gentleman, who by his genius had juſt given it a new exiſtence, drew up a plan of temporary ſtatutes, for a new form of adminiſtration.

THE intention of theſe ſtatutes was, that the company might no longer be ruled by men, who often were not worthy to be its factors: that the government might no further interfere than to protect it: that it might be alike preſerved from that ſlavery under which it had ſo long groaned, and from that ſpirit of myſtery which had perpetuated its corruption: that there ſhould be a conſtant intercourſe between the managers and the proprietors: that Paris, deprived of the advantage enjoyed by the capitals of other commercial nations, of being a ſea port, might acquire a knowledge of trade in free and peaceable aſſemblies: that the citizen might at laſt form juſt notions of that powerful tie that links all nations together, and by informing himſelf of the ſources of public proſperity, learn to reſpect the merchant whoſe operations contribute to it, and to deſpiſe the profeſſions that are deſtructive of it.

THESE wiſe regulations were attended with happier conſequences than could poſſibly be expected. A great activity was obſerved on all ſides. During the five years that the new adminiſtration laſted, the ſales produced annually 18,000,000 (787,500*l.*) They had not been ſo conſiderable, even in thoſe times which had been looked upon as the moſt proſperous; for, from 1726 to 1756 inclusively, they had amounted to no more than 437,376,284 livres, (19,135,212*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*) which makes upon an average, in peace and war, 14,108,912 livres (617,264*l.* 18*s.*) a year.

IT muſt be confeſſed, that ſince the year 1764, the profits had not been what they were before. The difference

ference between the purchaſe and the ſale, which had been at leaſt cent. per cent. was reduced to about ſeventy per cent. This diminution of profit was owing to the want of ſtock, to the ruin of French credit in India, and to the exorbitant power of the victorious nation that had lately ſubdued thoſe diſtant regions. The agents for the company were reduced to procure money and goods upon the hardeſt terms. They drew both from the Engliſh merchants who were endeavouring to bring over to Europe the immenſe fortunes they had amaſſed in Aſia.

WITH theſe impediments, and under theſe diſagreeable circumſtances, was the excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt Indies exerciſed, when the government thought proper to ſuſpend it. Let us now examine what was then the ſituation of the company.

These meaſures are inſufficient.

BEFORE 1764, the number of ſhares was 50,268. At that period the miniſtry, who, in 1746, 1747, and 1748, had given up to the proprietors the produce of the ſhares and bonds which were their property, relinquiſhed in their favour the ſhares and bonds themſelves, to the number of 11,835 together, to indemnify them for the expences they had incurred during the laſt war. Theſe ſhares having been cancelled, there remained but 38,432.

The trade of individuals is ſubſtituted to that of the company.

State of that ſociety at the time of its decay.

THE wants of the company obliged them to make a call of 400 livres (17*l.* 10*s.*) per ſhare. Upwards of 34,000 ſhares paid the call. The 4,000 that did not, were reduced, by the terms of the edict which empowered the company to make it, to five eights of the value of thoſe which had paid; ſo that by this operation, the number was reduced to 36,920 whole ſhares and ſix eighths.

THE dividends on the ſhares of the French company as of all other companies, have varied according to circumſtances. In 1722 it was 100 livres, (4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d*)

From

BOOK IV.

From 1723 to 1745 it was 150, (6*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*) From 1746 to 1749 it was 70, (3*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*) From 1750 to 1758 it was 80, (3*l.* 10*s.*) From 1759 to 1763 it was 40, (1*l.* 15*s.*) and in 1764 it was but 20 livres, (17*s.* 6*d.*) This ſhews that the dividend, and the value of the ſtock, which always kept pace with it, was neceſſarily affected by the hazards of trade, and the fluctuation of popular opinion. Hence that prodigious riſe and fall in the price of the ſhares, which fell in one year from two hundred (167*l.* 18*s.*) to one hundred piſtoles; (83*l.* 15*s.*) [Each piſtole is reckoned at 16*s.* 9*d.*] then roſe to 1800 livres, (78*l.* 15*s.*) and ſoon after fell to 700, (30*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) Yet in the midſt of theſe revolutions, the ſtock of the company was much the ſame. But this is a calculation which the public never makes. It is determined by the circumſtance of the preſent moment, and always truſts or fears beyond the truth.

THE proprietors, who were expoſed to ſee their fortunes reduced to half in one day, would no longer run the riſques of ſuch a ſituation. In laying in a freſh ſtock to trade with, they deſired to ſecure the remainder of their fortune in ſuch a manner, as that the ſhares ſhould at all times bear a ſettled price, and an intereſt that could be depended on. The government ſettled this matter by an edict iſſued out in Auguſt 1764. The XIIIth article expreſsly ſays, that to ſecure to the proprietors a ſettled income independent of all future events of trade, a ſufficient fund ſhould be detached from that portion of the contract which was then free, to ſecure to every ſhare a capital of 1600 livres, (70*l.*) and an intereſt of 80 livres, (3*l.* 10*s.*) and that *neither that intereſt nor that capital ſhould, in any caſe or for any cauſe whatſoever, be anſwerable for ſuch engagements as the company might enter into after the date of this edict.*

THE

THE company therefore owed for 36,920 ſhares and ſix eighths, at the rate of 80 livres (3*l.* 10*s.*) per ſhare, an intereſt amounting to 2,953,660 livres, (129,222*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) They paid for their ſeveral contracts 2,727,506 livres, (119,328*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*) which made in all 5,681,166 livres (248,551*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.*) of perpetual annuities. The life annuities amounted to 3,074,899 livres, (134,526*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* ½.) The ſum total of all theſe annual payments was then 8,756,065 livres (383,577*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* ½.) How the company raiſed money to anſwer theſe ſeveral demands ſhall be the ſubject of our next inquiry.

THAT great body, far too deeply concerned in Law's ſcheme, had advanced him 90,000,000 of livres, (3,937,500*l.*) When the cataſtrophe happened, the government made over to them in payment the excluſive ſale of tobacco, which then brought in three millions (131,250*l.*) a year; but they were left without a capital to trade upon. This kept them in a ſtate of inaction till 1726, when the government came to their ſuccour. The rapid progreſs they made aſtoniſhed all nations, and they bid fair for ſurpaſſing the moſt flouriſhing companies. This opinion, which was the general one, emboldened the proprietors to complain that their dividends were not doubled and trebled. They thought, and ſo did the public, that the king's treaſury was enriched with their ſpoils. The profound ſecrecy with which every thing was carried on, greatly ſtrengthened theſe ſurmiſes.

THE breaking out of the war between France and England in 1744 diſſolved the charm. The miniſtry, too much embarraſſed in their own affairs to think of doing any thing for the company, left it to ſhift for itſelf. Then, indeed, every body was ſurprized to ſee that Coloſſus ready to fall, which had never yet met with any ſhock, and whoſe greateſt misfortune had been the

BOOK IV.

the loſs of two ſhips of a moderate value. The company was undone, had not the government in 1747, declared itſelf their debtor in the ſum of 180,000,000 of livres, (7,875,000) and engaged to pay them the intereſt of that ſum for ever, at five per cent. This engagement, which was in lieu of the excluſive ſale of tobacco, is ſo important a point in hiſtory, that it would not be ſufficiently elucidated, if we did not take up the matter further back.

THE uſe of tobacco, which was introduced into Europe after the diſcovery of America, made no very rapid progreſs in France. The conſumption was ſo ſmall, that the firſt leaſe, which began the firſt of December 1674, and ended the firſt of October 1680, brought in but 500,000 livres (21,875*l.*) to the government the two firſt years, and 600,000 (26,250*l.*) the four laſt; though ths right of ſtamping pewter had been joined to this privilege. This farm was confounded with the general farms till 1691, when it ſtill remained united to them, and was rated at 1,500,000 livres (65,625*l.*) a year. In 1697, it became once more a ſeparate farm on the ſame terms, till 1709, when it was increaſed to 100,000 livres (4,375*l.*) more, till 1715. It was then renewed for three years only. The two firſt years were to bring in 2,000,000 of livres, (87,500*l.*) and the laſt 200,000 (8,750*l.*) more. At that period, it was increaſed to 4,020,000 livres (175,875*l.*) a year; but this laſted only from the firſt of October 1718 to the firſt of June 1720. Tobacco then became a mercantile commodity all over the kingdom, and continued ſo till the firſt of September 1721. During this ſhort interval, private people laid in ſuch a ſtock, that when it came to be farmed out again, it could be done but at a moderate price. This leaſe, which was the eleventh, was for nine years, to commence on the firſt of September,

tember 1721, to the first of October 1730. The farmers were to give 1,300,000 livres (56,875*l.*) for the first thirteen months; 1,800,000 (78,750*l.*) for each of the last six years; 2,560,000 (112,000*l.*) for the third, and 3,000,000 (131,250*l.*) for each of the last six years. This agreement did not take place, because the India company, to whom the government owed 90,000,000 livres, (3,937,500*l.*) which had been deposited in the royal treasury in 1717, demanded the farm of tobacco, which had then been made over to them for ever, and which, from particular events, they had never yet enjoyed. Their petition was found to be just, and they obtained what they so warmly solicited.

They managed this farm themselves, from the first of October 1723, to the last day of September 1730. The produce during this space was 50,083,967 livres 11 sous 9 deniers; (about 2,191,173*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.*) which made 7,154,852*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* (about 313,024*l.* 16*s.*) a year; out of this must be deducted yearly 3,042,963*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* (about 133,129*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* ½.) for the charges of preparing the land.

These charges were so enormous, that it was thought the business which grew every day more considerable, would be better in the hands of the farmers-general, who would do it at less expence by means of the clerks they employed for other purposes. The company accordingly leased it for eight years. They engaged to pay 7,500,000 livres (328,125*l.*) for each of the first four years, and 8,000,000 (350,000*l.*) for each of the four last. This lease went on upon the same footing till the month of June 1747, and the king promised to account with the company for the increase of the produce, as soon as it should be known and ascertained.

At this period, the king united the tobacco farm to his other duties, creating and alienating, for the use of the

BOOK IV.

the company, an annuity of nine millions (393,750*l.*) for ever, upon a capital of a hundred and eighty millions, (7,875,000*l.*) This large compenſation was thought to be due to them for the old debt of ninety millions; (3,937,500*l.*) for the overplus of the profit upon the tobacco farm, from 1738 to 1747; and to indemnify them for the expences of the negro trade, the loſſes they had ſuſtained during the war, their giving up the excluſive privilege of the trade to St. Domingo, and the loſs of the ton duty, which had been ſuſpended ever ſince the year 1731. Yet this compenſation has been thought inadequate by ſome of the proprietors, who have found out that ever ſince the year 1758, upwards of 11,700,000 pound weight of tobacco have been annually ſold in the kingdom at three livres (2*s.* 7*d.* ½) a pound, though it had been bought for twenty-ſeven livres (1*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* ½) a hundred.

The nation is of a very different opinion. The managers, who prevailed upon government to acknowledge ſo large a debt, have been accuſed of ſacrificing the intereſt of the public to that of a private ſociety. A writer who in our days ſhould examine whether this accuſation was well or ill grounded, would paſs for an idle man. Such a diſcuſſion would be altogether needleſs, ſince every circumſtance of this tranſaction has been made public. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that it was with the nine millions (393,750*l.*) a year improperly ſacrificed by the ſtate, that the company was enabled to anſwer the demand of 8,756,065 livres (383,077*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* ½) with which it was charged, ſo that the overplus that remained to them amounted to about 244,000 (10,675*l.*) of net revenue.

It is true they had private ſimple contract debts to the amount of 74,505,000 livres, (3,259,593*l.* 15*s.*) but they had in trade, or in debts to call in, 70,733,000 livres;

livres; (3,094,568*l.* 15*s.*) a ſum nearly ſufficient to balance their accounts.

THEIR only riches conſiſted therefore in moveable and immoveable effects, to the amount of about twenty millions (875,000*l.*) and the proſpect of the extinction of the life annuities, which in time muſt bring in three millions (131,250*l.*) a year. The actual value of this article might be reckoned equal to a clear capital of thirty millions (1,312,500*l.*)

INDEPENDENT of theſe properties, the company enjoyed ſome very beneficial rights. The excluſive ſale of coffee had been granted them; but as public utility required that an exception ſhould be made in 1736, with regard to coffee imported from the American iſlands, they had, by way of compenſation, a yearly ſum of 50,000 livres, (2,187*l.* 10*s.*) which was always duly paid. Even the privilege for Mocha coffee was cancelled in 1767, the government having allowed the importation of that of the Levant. The company obtained no indemnification on this account.

THEY had met with a worſe diſappointment the year before. In 1720 they had been inveſted with the ſole right of tranſporting ſlaves to the American colonies. This ſyſtem ſoon appeared to be erroneous, and it was agreed that all the merchants in the kingdom ſhould be at liberty to carry on the ſlave trade, upon condition of adding a piſtole (16*s.* 9*d.*) per head to the thirteen livres (11*s.* 4*d.* ½) granted out of the royal treaſury. Suppoſing that 15,000 negroes were diſpoſed of every year in the French iſlands, this made a clear income of 345,000 livres (15,093*l.* 15*s.*) for the company. This bounty, which was allowed them for a trade they were not concerned in, was taken off in 1767, and was made up to them by a more reaſonable equivalent.

AT

BOOK IV.

AT the first formation of the Company they had obtained a gratuity of 50 livres (2*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*) upon every ton of goods they should export, and of 75 (3*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* ½) upon every ton they should import from abroad. The ministry, upon the suppression of the bounty upon negroes, increased the gratuity upon every ton exported to 75 livres, (3*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* ½) and upon every ton imported to 80, (3*l.* 10*s.*) If we rate both at 6000 tons a year, we shall find a produce of above a million (43,750*l.*) for the Company, including the 50,000 livres (2,187*l.* 10*s.*) they received upon the coffee.

WHILST the income of the company remained entire, their expences were lessened. By the edict of 1764 the islands of France and Bourbon were become the property of the government, who engaged to fortify and defend them. By this arrangement the company was exonerated of two millions (87,500*l.*) a year, without the least detriment to the exclusive trade they enjoyed in those two islands.

WITH all these seemingly prosperous circumstances the debts of the company were daily increasing. This must inevitably happen, as their income, together with the profits of their trade, was not sufficient to defray the expences of carrying it on, and the charges annexed to the crown, which amounted together to eight millions (350,000*l.*) a year. They might even exceed this, as by their nature they were susceptible of endless increase, according to the political views of government, which is the sole judge of their importance and necessity.

IN so unfortunate a situation, the company could not possibly support itself without the assistance of government. But for some time past the council of Lewis XV. had appeared to be very indifferent about the existence of that great body. At last an arret of council was issued,

iſſued, bearing date the 13th of Auguſt 1769, by which the king ſuſpended the excluſive privilege of the India Company, and granted to all his ſubjects the liberty of navigating and trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope. However, in granting this unexpected freedom, the government thought proper to lay it under ſome reſtraint. The arret which opens this new track to private navigators, requires them to provide themſelves with paſſports, which are to be freely given by the adminiſtrators of the India Company. It obliges them to make their returns to Port l'Orient, and no where elſe. It eſtabliſhes a duty by way of indulto on all goods imported from India; which, by a ſecond arret of council iſſued on the ſixth of September following, was fixed at five per cent. on all goods coming from India and China, and at three per cent. upon all commodities of the growth of the iſlands of France and Bourbon.

The arret of the 13th of Auguſt, by only ſuſpending the privilege of the company, ſeemed to leave to the proprietors the power of reſuming it: but as they ſaw no probability of ever being able to do this, they wiſely determined to liquidate their concerns in ſuch a manner as to ſecure their creditors, and the remains of their own fortunes.

For this purpoſe they offered to give up to the king all the company's ſhips, thirty in number; all the warehouſes and other buildings belonging to them at Port l'Orient and in India; the property of their factories with the manufactures dependent on them; all naval and military ſtores; and laſtly, eight hundred ſlaves which they had reſerved in the iſlands. All theſe articles were valued at thirty millions (1,312,500*l.*) by the proprietors, who at the ſame time demanded the payment of 16,500,000 livres (721,875*l.*) which were due to them by the government.

THE king agreed to the propoſal, but choſe to leſſen the purchaſe money: not that the effects were not of ſtill greater value whilſt they remained in the hands of the company; but being made over to the government, they brought an additional incumbrance upon it. So that inſtead of 46,500,000 livres (2,039,375*l.*) which the proprietors demanded, the prince, to clear all accounts with them, created a perpetual annuity for their benefit of 1,200,000 livres, (52,500*l.*) upon a capital of thirty millions. (1,312,500*l.*) The edict for that purpoſe was iſſued out in January 1770.

THIS new contract the company mortgaged for twelve millions (525,000*l.*) which they borrowed upon life annuities at ten per cent, and by a lottery in February following. This money was borrowed to enable them to fulfil the engagements they had entered into when they undertook the laſt expeditions; but it was inſufficient: ſo that finding themſelves utterly unable to raiſe more, the proprietors, at their meeting on the 7th. April 1770, made over their whole property to the king, except the capital that had been mortgaged to the ſhares.

THE principal articles comprized in this ceſſion, conſiſted in the abolition of 4,200,000 livres (183,750*l.*) in life annuities; of that part of the contract of nine millions (393,750*l.*) which exceeded the capital of the ſhares; of the hotel of Paris; of the India goods expected home in 1770 and 1771, ſuppoſed to be worth 26,000,000 of livres; (1,137,500*l.*) and laſtly, of three or four millions (about 153,000*l.* upon an average.) of debts to be called in, from debtors who were moſtly ſolvent, in India, in the iſles of France and Bourbon, and at San Domingo. The proprietors engaged at the ſame time to furniſh the king with a ſum of 14,768,000 livres, (646,100*l.*) to be raiſed by way of a call, which was fixed at 400 livres (17*l.* 10*s.*) per ſhare. The government,

vernment, in accepting theſe ſeveral offers, engaged on their part to pay all the perpetual and life annuities which the company was bound to pay; all their other engagements, amounting to about forty-five millions; (1,968,750*l.*) all the penſions and half-pays granted by the company, amounting to 80,000 livres (3,500.) a year; laſtly, to ſtand to all the charges and riſques attending a liquidation that muſt neceſſarily laſt ſome years.

THE capital of each ſhare, which by the edict of Auguſt 1764, had been fixed at 1600 livres, (70*l.*) bearing an intereſt of 80 livres, (3*l.* 10*s.*) the king now raiſed to 2500 livres, (109*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) bearing intereſt 125 livres (5*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* ½.) a year. The new intereſt was made ſubject to a deduction of a tenth, and it was agreed that this deduction ſhould be annually appropriated to the paying off of the ſhares by lot, on the footing of their capital of 2500 livres; (109*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) ſo that the intereſt on the ſhares thus paid off, would increaſe the ſinking fund till the whole of the ſhares was finally paid off.

THESE reſpective conditions are recorded in an arret of council, of the 8th of April, including a report of the deliberations held the day before in a general meeting of the proprietors, and confirmed by letters patent bearing date the 22d of the ſame month. In conſequence of theſe agreements, the call has been paid, the drawing for the reimburſement of the ſhares, to the number of two hundred and twenty, has been made every year, and the ſimple contract debts of the company have been duly paid when their time was elapſed.

FROM all theſe particulars, it is no eaſy matter to frame an idea of the actual mode of exiſtence of the India company, and of the legal ſtate of the trade they carried on. This company which at preſent has no pro-

BOOK IV.

perty, no buſineſs, no object, cannot however be conſidered as being utterly deſtroyed, ſince the proprietors have reſerved the joint ſtock that was mortgaged for their ſhares; and that they have a common cheſt, and deputies to ſuperintend their intereſts. On the other hand, their charter has been ſuſpended; but it is only ſuſpended, and is not included amongſt the articles which the company has ceded to the king. The law by which it was granted is ſtill in force; and the ſhips that are fitted out for the Indian ſeas, cannot ſail without a permiſſion in the name of the company. So that the freedom which has been granted is but a precarious one, and if the proprietors ſhould offer to reſume their trade, with a ſufficient ſtock to carry it on, they would have an undoubted right to do it, without any new law to impower them. But except this nominal right, which in fact is much the ſame as if it did not exiſt, as the proprietors are not in a condition to exerciſe it, all their other rights, properties and factories, are now in the hands of government. Let us take a curſory view of thoſe ſettlements, beginning by Malabar.

Preſent ſtate of the French upon the coaſt of Malabar.

BETWEEN the provinces of Canara and Calicut, lies a diſtrict which extends eighteen leagues along the coaſt, and is at moſt ſeven or eight leagues broad. The country, which is very rugged, is covered with pepper and cocoa-trees. It is divided into ſeveral leſſer diſtricts, in ſubjection to as many Indian lords, who are all vaſſals to the houſe of Colaſtry. The head of this Bramin family is always to confine his whole attention to what concerns the worſhip of the gods. It would be beneath his dignity to ſtoop to profane matters, and the reins of government are given to his neareſt relation. The country is divided into two provinces. In the largeſt, called the Irouvenate, is the Engliſh factory of Tellicherry, and the Dutch factory of Cananor. Thoſe

two

two nations ſhare the pepper between them, but the Engliſh commonly carry off 1,500,000 pound weight, and there ſeldom remains more than 500,000 for the Dutch.

The ſecond province, called Cartenate, extends but five leagues along the coaſt. Here the French were called in by the natives in 1722, with a view to make uſe of them againſt the Engliſh; but an accommodation having taken place made their aſſiſtance needleſs, they were forced to relinquiſh a poſt where they promiſed themſelves ſome advantages. Fired with reſentment and ambition, they returned in greater numbers in 1725, and eſtabliſhed themſelves ſword in hand on the mouth of the river Mahé. Notwithſtanding this act of violence, they obtained of the prince who governed that diſtrict, an excluſive right to the pepper trade. This favour was ſo great an advantage to them, that it gave riſe to a colony of 6,000 Indians who cultivated 6,350 cocoa-trees, 3,967 areka and 7,762 pepper-trees. Such was the ſtate of this ſettlement, when the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of it in 1760.

The ſame ſpirit of deſtruction that they had ſhewn in all their conqueſts, influenced them at Mahé. Their intention was to pull down the houſes, and diſperſe the inhabitants. The ſovereign of that country diſſuaded them from their purpoſe. All was ſpared, except the fortifications. When the French returned to their factory, they found every thing much in the ſame condition as they had left it. It is their intereſt to ſecure the advantages they enjoy, and it is no leſs incumbent on them to endeavour to improve them.

Mahé is ſurrounded with hills, on which were erected five forts, which no longer exiſt. Theſe works were by far too numerous, though ſome precautions are abſolutely neceſſary. It is not proper to be perpetually

BOOK IV.

exposed to the depredations of the Nayers, who have formerly attempted to plunder and destroy the colony, and who might possibly have still the same intentions, in order to put themselves under the protection of the English at Tellichery, which is but three leagues distant from Mahé.

Besides the posts requisite for internal safety, it is highly proper to fortify the entrance of the river. Since the Marattas have got sea-ports of their own, they infest the sea about Malabar with their piracies. Those banditti even attempt to land, wherever they think there is some booty to be got. Mahé would not be secure from their attacks, if there were money or goods to tempt them, unless they were well guarded.

The French might make themselves ample amends for any expences they should incur, if they did but carry on their trade with spirit and skill. Their factory is the best situated for the pepper trade; and the country would afford 2,500,000 pound weight of that commodity. What could not be consumed in Europe might be sold in China, on the Red Sea, and at Bengal. A pound of pepper would stand them in twelve sous, (about 6*d*. $\frac{1}{4}$.) and they would sell it for twenty-five or thirty. (about 1*l*. 4*s*. on an average.)

This advantage, considerable as it is, would be increased by the profits upon European goods which would be carried over to Mahé. Those who are best acquainted with that factory, are of opinion that it will be an easy matter to dispose of 400,000 weight of iron, 200,000 of lead, 25,000 of copper, 2000 firelocks, 20,000 weight of gunpowder, 50 anchors or grapplings, 50 bales of cloth, 50,000 ells of sail cloth, a good quantity of quicksilver, and about 200 casks of wine or brandy, for the French settled in the colony, or for the English in the neighbourhood. These several articles together

together would fetch at leaſt 384,000 livres, (16,800*l.*) of which 153,600 (6,720*l.*) would be clear gain, allowing the profit to be 40 per cent. Another advantage attending this circulation is, that there will always be a ſtock in the factory, which will enable them to purchaſe the productions of the country in the ſeaſons of the year when they are cheapeſt.

THE greateſt obſtacle to trade is the cuſtom-houſe eſtabliſhed in the colony. Half the duties belong to the ſovereign of that country, and this has always been a ſubject of contention. The Engliſh of Tellichery, who laboured under the ſame grievance, have found means to prevent all diſputes about theſe duties, by paying a certain yearly ſum as an equivalent. We might do the ſame, but we cannot expect that the prince would agree to it, unleſs we previouſly pay him the ſums he has lent, and no longer refuſe him the tribute ſtipulated for the benefit of living peaceably upon his territories. Matters cannot be ſo eaſily adjuſted at Bengal.

Preſent ſtate of the French at Bengal.

FRANCE has engaged by the treaty of 1763, to erect no fortifications and keep no troops in that rich and extenſive country. The Engliſh, who are ſovereigns there, will never ſuffer us to deviate from what they have required. So that Chandernagore, which before the laſt war reckoned 60,000 ſouls, and has now but 24,000, is and always will be entirely an open place.

To this misfortune of a precarious ſituation, may be added injuries and hardſhips of every kind. Not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of unlimited authority, the Engliſh have been guilty of the moſt ſcandalous enormities. They have inſulted the French in their work-ſhops; decoyed their workmen, cut the linens off of the looms; inſiſted that the manufacturers ſhould do no work but for them in the three beſt months of the year, and that their own

BOOK IV.

ladings ſhould be picked out and completed, before any thing was removed out of the work-ſhops. The ſcheme which the French and Dutch together had contrived of making an exact eſtimate of the number of weavers, taking only half between them, and leaving the reſt to the Engliſh, has been conſidered as an inſult. That domineering nation have gone ſo far as to declare that they would have their factors buy the goods in Chandernagore; and our people have been forced to ſubmit to this hardſhip, or they would have been excluded from every market in Bengal. In a word, they have ſo much abuſed the unjuſt right of victory, that a philoſopher might be tempted to wiſh for the ruin of their liberty, were not the people a thouſand times more oppreſſive and cruel under the government of one man, than in the poſſeſſions of a government tempered by the influence of many.

As long as things remain upon the preſent footing in that opulent part of Aſia, the French will meet with perpetual hardſhips and mortifications, and therefore no ſolid and laſting advantage can accrue to trade. We ſhould be reſcued from this diſgrace, if we could exchange Chandernagore for Chattigan.

CHATTIGAN is ſituated on the confines of Aracan. The Portugueſe, who in the days of their proſperity, endeavoured to get all the important poſts in India into their own hands, made a conſiderable ſettlement at that place. The coloniſts ſhook off the yoke of their native country, when it became a part of the Spaniſh dominions, chuſing rather to turn pirates than to be ſlaves. They long infeſted the neighbouring coaſts and ſeas with their depredations. At laſt they were attacked by the Moguls, who raiſed a colony upon their ruins, powerful enough to prevent any inroads which the people of Aracan and Pegu might be tempted to make into Bengal.

gal. This place then ſank into obſcurity, till 1758, when the Engliſh arrived and ſettled there.

THE climate is healthy, the waters excellent, and proviſions plenty: the landing is eaſy, and the anchorage ſafe. The continent and the iſland of Sandiva make a tolerable harbour. The rivers Barramputri and Etki, which are branches of the Ganges, or at leaſt communicate with it, greatly facilitate commercial operations. If Chattigan is further off of Patna, Caſſimbazar, and ſome other markets, than the European colonies on the river Hugly, it is nearer Jogdia, Dacca, and all the manufactures of the lower river. It is a matter of no conſequence whether ſhips of burden can or cannot enter the Ganges on that ſide, as the inland navigation is never carried on but with boats.

THOUGH the knowledge they had of theſe advantages had determined the Engliſh to ſeize upon Chattigan, we are apt to think they would have given it up at the laſt peace, to get rid of the French, and remove them from a place which lies too near them, and which long habit has endeared to them. We even apprehended that at Chattigan, they would have deſiſted from thoſe irkſome conditions they required at Chandernagore, which imprint a reproach upon the poſſeſſors, more detrimental than it is poſſible for mere ſpeculators in commerce to conceive. Trade is a free profeſſion. The ſea, the voyages, the riſque, and the viciſſitudes of fortune, all inſpire a love of independence. This is the very ſoul and life of trade, which when ſhackled droops and dies.

THE preſent opportunity is perhaps a favourable one to think of the exchange we propoſe. The fortifications which the Engliſh had begun to erect at Chattigan, having been thrown down by repeated earthquakes, and they ſeem to have taken a diſlike to the place. As to the

BOOK IV.

the French, this inconvenience, great as it is, would be preferable to that of living in a defenceleſs town. It is better to ſtrive againſt nature than againſt men, and to be expoſed to the ſhocks of the earth than to the inſults of nations. Fortunately for the French, though they are reſtrained at Bengal, they meet with ſome amends, in enjoying a better ſituation on the coaſt of Coromandel.

Preſent ſituation of the French upon the coaſt of Coromandel.

To the north of that very extenſive coaſt, they poſſeſs Yanam, in the province of Rajahmandry. This factory, which has no land belonging to it, and is ſituated nine miles from the mouth of the river Ingerom, was formerly a very flouriſhing one. From miſtaken motives it was neglected about the year 1748. It would, however, afford goods to the value of 4 or 500,000 livres, (about 19,700*l.* on an average.) as the cotton manufactures are very conſiderable in that neighbourhood, and the cottons remarkably fine and good. It has been found by experience to be a good market for diſpoſing of European cloth. The trade of this place would be more lucrative, if they were not obliged to ſhare the profit with the Engliſh, who have a ſmall ſettlement within two miles of the French.

The competition is much more detrimental to their intereſt at Maſulipatam. The French, who formerly were maſters of the whole town, but have nothing left now except the lodge they had before 1749, cannot pretend to vie with the Engliſh, who make them pay duty for all their imports and exports, and enjoy beſides all the favour in their own trade which ſovereignty can command. This being the caſe, the French confine their dealings to the purchaſe of ſome fine handkerchiefs, and other calicoes to the value of 150,000 livres. (6,562*l.* 10*s.*) It is far otherwiſe at Karical.

That

THAT town, ſituated in the kingdom of Tanjour, on one of the branches of the Coleroon, which will bear ſhips of 150 tons burden, was ceded to the company in 1738, by a dethroned king, who was in want of protection. Having been reſtored before he had fulfilled his engagements, he retracted the gift he had made. A nabob attacked the place with his army, and in 1739 gave it up to the French who were in friendſhip with him. Soon after this the ungrateful and perfidious prince was ſtrangled by the intrigues of his uncles; and his ſucceſſor, who had inherited his enemies with his throne, being deſirous of obtaining the friendſhip of a powerful nation, confirmed them in their poſſeſſion. The Engliſh took the place in 1760, and blew up the fortifications. It was afterwards reſtored to the French, who returned thither in 1765.

IN its preſent ſtate, Karical is an open place, which may contain 15,000 inhabitants, moſt of them employed in weaving ordinary handkerchiefs, and cottons for the wear of the natives. The territory belonging to it, which has been conſiderably increaſed by the conceſſions which the king of Tanjour made in 1749, is now once more what it was at firſt, two leagues in length, and one league in the broadeſt part. It is covered with fifteen villages, of which only one deſerves our notice; it is called Tirumale-Rayenpatnam, and contains no leſs than 25,000 ſouls. They weave and paint tolerably fine Perſians, fit for Batavia and the Philippine iſlands. The Coolies and Mohammedans have ſmall veſſels, with which they trade to Ceylon, and along the coaſt.

FRANCE may draw annually from this ſettlement, two hundred bales of cottons or handkerchiefs fit for Europe, and a large quantity of rice for the ſubſiſtence of her other colonies.

ALL

BOOK IV.

All goods bought at Karical, Yanam and Maſulipatam, are carried to Pondicherry, our chief ſettlement in India.

This town, which roſe from ſuch ſmall beginnings, in time became a great, powerful and famous city. The ſtreets, which are all ſtrait, and moſt of them broad, were lined with two rows of trees, which kept them cool, even in the heat of the day. The moſt remarkable public edifices are a moſque, two Pagodas, two churches and the governor's houſe, which is reckoned to be the moſt magnificent building in the eaſt. They had erected a ſmall citadel in the year 1704, but it is of no uſe, ſince they have been allowed to build houſes all round it. To ſupply the loſs of this defence, three ſides of the town had been fortified with a rampart, a ditch, baſtions, and a glacis which was unfiniſhed in ſome places. The road was defended by ſome batteries judiciouſly placed.

The town, which was a full league in circumference, contained 70,000 inhabitants, of which 4000 were Europeans, Meſtees, or Topaſſes. There were at moſt 10,000 Mohammedans; the reſt were Indians, 15,000 of which were chriſtians, and the others of ſeventeen or eighteen different caſts or tribes. Three villages dependent on the town, might contain 10,000 ſouls.

Such was the ſtate of the colony, when the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of it in the beginning of the year 1761, utterly deſtroyed it, and turned out the inhabitants. Others may, perhaps, examine whether the barbarous right of war could juſtify ſuch enormities. Let us turn away our eyes from ſo many cruelties, committed by a free, magnanimous, and enlightened nation, and only dwell upon the reſolution France has taken to reſtore

reſtore Pondicherry to its former ſplendor. Every thing concurs to juſtify the wiſdom of this choice.

THIS town, like all others on the coaſt of Coromandel, has no harbour, but it has a much more commodious road. The ſhips can anchor cloſe to the ſhore, under the cannon of the fortifications. Its territory, which is three leagues long and one league broad, is nothing but barren ſand by the ſea ſide, but the greateſt part is fit for the culture of rice, vegetables, and a root called chaya, which is uſed for dying. Two ſmall rivers that croſs the country, but are not navigable, afford excellent water for the ſame purpoſe, particularly for the blue dye. Three miles to the north-eaſt of the town is a hill, which riſes a hundred toiſes above the level of the ſea, and is a guide to ſhips at the diſtance of ſeven or eight leagues, which is an ineſtimable advantage upon ſo flat a coaſt. At the top of this hill is a very large pool of water, that has been collecting for ages, and after refreſhing and fertilizing a ſpacious territory, flows down to water the grounds about Pondicherry. Laſtly, the colony is favourably ſituated for the reception of proviſions and merchandiſes from the Carnatic, the kingdoms of Myſore, and Tanjour.

SUCH were the important reaſons which determined France to rebuild Pondicherry. As ſoon as her agents appeared on the 11th of April 1765, the unfortunate Indians, who had been diſperſed by the calamities of war, flocked thither in great numbers. By the beginning of the year 1770, there were 27,000 who had rebuilt their ruined houſes. They are all brought up in the notion that no man can be happy who does not die in the very place where he firſt ſaw the light. This prejudice, ſo pleaſing to them, and which may be turned to good account, will no doubt bring them all home again,

BOOK IV.

again, as ſoon as there is room for them, and the town is incloſed. The weavers, the dyers, the painters, the merchants, thoſe who have ſome property to preſerve, only wait for this ſecurity to follow their inclination.

In their preſent ſtate, the French factories in India are very expenſive, and the returns from them inconſiderable. Unfortunately this is not compenſated by the iſlands of France and Bourbon, which have not attained to that degree of proſperity we had reaſon to expect.

Preſent ſituation of the French in the iſle of France.

The latter of theſe iſlands was much extolled, but more ſpeculation than induſtry was beſtowed upon it, and the owners loſt their time in conjectures concerning the uſe it might be put to.

Some were inclined to make a mart of it, where all Indian goods ſhould center. They were to be brought thither on Indian bottoms, and then ſhipped on board the French veſſels, which were never to go any further. They found a double advantage in this ſcheme; firſt, in the leſſening of expences, as both the pay and the maintenance of Indian ſailors is very trifling; and ſecondly, in the preſervation of the ſhips crews, which are often deſtroyed by too long a voyage, and ſtill more frequently by the climate, eſpecially at Bengal and in Arabia. This ſyſtem, which ought, perhaps, to have been adopted, was conſidered as impracticable, on account of the ſuppoſed neceſſity of exhibiting a formidable flag on the ſeas of Aſia, to prevent or check the inſults that are often committed in thoſe parts.

Others were of opinion that the inhabitants of the iſle of France ſhould be allowed to trade to India, which they had never yet been ſuffered to do. The ſupporters of this ſyſtem maintained, that the propoſed freedom would prove an abundant ſource of wealth to the colony, and

and conſequently to the mother country. They might be in the right, but the trials that have been made have not been ſucceſsful; and without examining whether this innovation has been judiciouſly conducted, it was decided that the iſland ſhould be entirely confined to agriculture.

THIS new regulation occaſioned freſh miſtakes. Men were ſent from Europe to the colony, who neither underſtood huſbandry nor were accuſtomed to labour. The lands were diſtributed at a venture, and without diſtinguiſhing what was to be cleared from what did not want it. Money was advanced to the planters, not in proportion to their induſtry, but to the intereſt they could make with adminiſtration. The company, who got cent. per cent. upon the commodities the colony drew from Europe, and fifty per cent. upon thoſe that were ſent in from India, required that the produce of the country ſhould be delivered into their warehouſes at a very low price. The oppreſſion of monopoly was aggravated by the tyranny of endleſs and needleſs ſervices. To complete the misfortunes of the colony, the company, who had kept all the power in their own hands, broke the engagements they had entered into with their ſubjects, or rather with their ſlaves.

UNDER ſuch a government, no improvements could be expected. Nothing was carried on with ſteadineſs. Cotton, indigo, ſugar, arnotto, pepper, tea, cocoa; every thing was tried, but ſo careleſsly that no advantage was procured from them. In purſueing chimerical projects the eſſential cultures were neglected. Though in the year 1765 there were in the colony 1469 white people, beſides the troops; 1587 Indians or free negroes; 11881 ſlaves; their productions did not amount to more than 320,650 pounds weight of wheat, 47,430 pounds of rice, 1,570,040 pounds of maize, 142,700 pounds

BOOK IV.

pounds of kidney-beans, 135,500 pounds of oats. Those who had an opportunity of seeing and observing the agriculture of the Isle of France, found it little better than what they had seen amongst the savages.

Some good alterations have been made in the colony since it is in the hands of government. The culture of coffee has been introduced there, as it had long been at Bourbon. It thrives so well, that they do not despair of gathering six or seven millions weight in time, provided a wise administration will supply them with the means of improving this culture; for without such helps, no colony can possibly prosper. To these hopes another has lately been joined.

It is well known that for these two hundred years, the Dutch have been enriching themselves by the sale of cloves and nutmegs. To secure to themselves the exclusive trade of this article, they have put in irons or utterly destroyed the nation that was in possession of those spices, and lest the price of them should fall even in their own hands, they have rooted up most of the trees, and frequently burnt the fruit of those they have preserved. This abominable avidity, which has so often been mentioned with indignation by other nations, so exasperated Mr. Poivre, who had travelled all over Asia as a naturalist and a philosopher, that he availed himself of the authority he was intrusted with in the Isle of France, and sent men into the least frequented parts of the Moluccas, to search for what avarice had hitherto with-held from the rest of the world. The labours of those intrepid and sagacious navigators, in whom he confided, were crowned with success.

On the 24th of June 1770, they brought to the Isle of France 400 nutmeg-trees; 10,000 nutmegs, either growing or ready to grow; 70 clove trees, and a chest of cloves, some of which were growing, and already come up.

This

THIS rich prize was diſtributed amongſt the coloniſts, to try all the different ſoils, and every aſpect. Moſt of the young trees died, and the others are not likely to bear any fruit. But whatever may happen, the iſle of France muſt always be allowed to be the beſt gift of nature, for any nation deſirous of trading to Aſia.

It is ſituated in the African ſeas, but juſt at the entrance of the Indian ocean. As it lies a little out of the common track, its armaments can be carried on with the more ſecrecy. They who wiſh it was nearer our continent, do not conſider that if it were ſo, it would be impoſſible to reach the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel in a month's time, and the moſt diſtant gulphs in two months at moſt, which is an ineſtimable advantage to a nation that has no ſea-port in India. This iſland, though in the ſame latitude as the barren and ſcorching coaſts of Africa, is temperate and healthful. The ſoil is ſtony, but tolerably fertile. Experience has ſhewn that it will produce moſt of the neceſſaries and even of the luxuries of life. Whatever may be wanting, they may get from Madagaſcar, which abounds with proviſions, and from Bourbon, where the inhabitants have retained their ſimplicity of manners, and a taſte for huſbandry. What iron they may want, and cannot get from thoſe two iſlands, they dig out of their own mines.

It behoves the court of Verſailles to fortify the Iſle of France and Pondicherry, if it will have any ſhare in the trade of India.

GREAT BRITAIN ſees with a jealous eye, that her rivals ſhould be poſſeſſed of a ſettlement which may prove the ruin of her flouriſhing trade with Aſia. At the very firſt breaking out of a war, her utmoſt efforts will certainly be aimed at a colony that threatens the ſource of her richeſt treaſures. What a ſtroke for France, ſhould ſhe ſuffer herſelf to be ſtripped of it!

YET this is by no means improbable, if we conſider that hitherto there has been no ſettled plan for fortifying this iſland; that the means have always been wanting,

BOOK IV.

or miſapplied; that from year to year, the miniſtry of Lewis XV. have waited for the diſpatches of the adminiſtrators to come to a determination, juſt as one would wait for the return of a courier from the frontiers. Far from ſuppoſing that the beſiegers would meet with an inſurmountable reſiſtance, it is to be feared they would carry their point by the force they have in India without any ſuccours from Europe.

It is now time to ſpeak freely. Whoever goes round the coaſts of the Iſle of France, muſt be aſtoniſhed to ſee it every where acceſſible for boats. Though it is ſurrounded with reefs, there are many bays where troops may be landed under the protection of the ſhip-guns.

In thoſe parts of the iſland where ſhips muſt keep further off, the ſea is ſo calm and ſmooth, between the reef and the land, that boats may row in the night without the leaſt danger.

If in ſome places between the reef and the land, the water is too ſhallow for the boats to come aſhore, then the men can land with the water half way up their legs. The ſea is ſo calm within the reef, that this may be done with the utmoſt ſafety. They are more ſecure of a retreat in caſe of reſiſtance, and the boats are the ſafer whilſt the operation is going forward.

This is without exception the notion we are to frame of the Iſle of France; for if we ſometimes meet with a point where a boat cannot land, we are ſure of finding an opening at twenty toiſes to the right or left. So that the enemy will never land ſword in hand, but from ignorance or preſumption. As it is impoſſible to guard a coaſt that meaſures forty leagues, there will always be ſome defenceleſs place fit for landing.

During the laſt war, they had erected batteries all round the iſland, which pointed directly to the ſea; and could only play upon ſhips anchored at a diſtance, or under

under ſail. Some abler engineers have found out that theſe batteries, erected at a great expence, only divided the forces, anſwered no purpoſe, would be as defenceleſs as they were uſeleſs, and could not ſtand the fire of ſhips, when the beſt fortifications are not proof againſt it. They are now forſaken, and nothing has been ſubſtituted in their ſtead.

THE north-weſt harbour is the chief place of the iſland and muſt be the enemy's principal object in his plan for an attack. The nature of the ground will not admit of fortifying it ſo as to ſtand a ſiege. It ſhould be ſecured from a ſurpriſe, and then an intermediate ſpot ſhould be fortified in the heart of the iſland, from whence, by means of communications properly diſpoſed, the forces of the colony may be quickly diſpatched wherever they might be wanted.

WITH ſuch an eſtabliſhment, the enemy muſt fight a hundred battles before he can conquer the iſland. He will not even compaſs it, if the roads leading from the center to the circumference, which muſt be cut through the woods, are ſo artfully contrived as to facilitate the motions of the troops towards the circumference, and at the ſame time to obſtruct thoſe of the enemy towards the center. The nature of the country will admit of this: it is full of gullies which muſt be croſſed, and of mountains which require many windings. It is an eaſy matter to ſeize the favourable ſpots.

HOWEVER, there is ſo neceſſary and abſolute a connection between the Iſle of France and Pondicherry, that thoſe two poſſeſſions are altogether dependent on each other; for without the Iſle of France, there would be no protection for the ſettlement in India; and without Pondicherry, the Iſle of France would be expoſed to the invaſion of the Engliſh from Aſia as well as from Europe.

BOOK IV.

THE Iſle of France and Pondicherry, conſidered in their neceſſary connection, will be a ſecurity to each other. Pondicherry will protect the Iſle of France, as being the rival of Madraſs, which the Engliſh muſt always cover with their land and ſea forces; and on the other hand the Iſle of France will always be ready to ſuccour Pondicherry, or to act offenſively, as circumſtances ſhall require.

FROM theſe principles it appears how neceſſary it is to put Pondicherry immediately in a ſtate of defence. Ever ſince the year 1764, private intereſts that claſh with the intereſt of the nation, have made it a matter of doubt which was the beſt plan of fortification for this important place. Conſiderable ſums have already been expended on this account, and all to no purpoſe, becauſe they have been ſucceſſively laid out upon contrary ſyſtems. It would be needleſs to dwell upon the miſchiefs attending theſe eternal uncertainties.

The French being once firmly eſtabliſhed in India, will ſhake of the oppreſſion which the Engliſh impoſe upon them.

'WHEN the Iſle of France and Pondicherry are once put in a proper poſture of defence, we may then think of trade, which ceaſed to exiſt the moment it became free. Indeed the expeditions to China have continued, thoſe to the iſlands of France and Bourbon have even increaſed: but except an armament or two, which were owing to particular circumſtances, no ſenſible merchant has ſent his property to Malabar, Coromandel or Bengal; and the few who have ventured to do it, have been ruined. It could not be otherwiſe, and yet no inference can be drawn from thence in favour of excluſive privileges.

IT may be remembered that the deſtruction of the company, which would have happened of itſelf, was haſtened by avarice and animoſity. Politics, which were not concerned in the revolution, had made no proviſion for the regulation of that public trade which was to ſupply the place

place of the excluſive privilege. That ſudden tranſition could be attended with no ſucceſs. Before this new ſyſtem was entered upon, private merchants ought, inſenſibly and gradually, to have been ſubſtituted to the company. They ſhould have been put in the way of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the ſeveral branches of a commerce to which they were utter ſtrangers. They ſhould have been allowed time to form connections in the factories. They ſhould have been favoured and aſſiſted in their firſt expeditions.

But, all theſe precautions would have been inſufficient to inſure the ſucceſs of the French traders in India. It was morally impoſſible they ſhould cope with the Engliſh, who being maſters of every thing and every place, had all the advantages reſulting from power, and from the looſe principles which proſperity inſpires; which gave them fair opportunities of defeating all attempts of this kind. So that which ever way, or in whatever ſhape the trade of France was carried on, it muſt of courſe ſuffer greatly. No doubt, things would ſucceed better, if the court of Verſailles were to put the ſettlements in India in a condition to grant that protection which every ſovereign owes to his ſubjects throughout his dominions. It would be better ſtill if the Britiſh miniſtry would watch over the execution of treaties with that ſteadineſs that juſtice requires. But this oppreſſion, alike diſgraceful to the nation that ſuffers from it, and to the nation that allows it, can never be effectually removed, but by reſtoring the balance between them, and unfortunately this can only be done by a war.

Far be it from us to ſuggeſt any idea that would tend to rekindle the flames of diſcord. Rather let the voice of reaſon and philoſophy be heard by the rulers of the world. May all ſovereigns, after ſo many ages of error,

BOOK IV.

ror, learn to prefer the virtuous glory of making a few men happy, to the mad ambition of reigning over waſted regions and over people groaning under the weight of oppreſſion. May all men become brethren, and accuſtom themſelves to conſider the univerſe as one family, under the eye of one common father. But theſe wiſhes, which are thoſe of every ſenſible and humane man, will appear as idle dreams to ambitious miniſters, who hold the reins of empire. Their buſy and reſtleſs diſpoſition will ſtill ſhed torrents of blood.

SOME pitiful commercial intereſt will again arm the French and the Engliſh. Though Great Britain, in moſt of her wars, has aimed chiefly at deſtroying the induſtry of her neighbours, and though the ſuperiority of her naval forces may feed this hope, ſo often deceived, we may ſafely foretel that ſhe would chuſe to remove the ſcene of action from the ſeas of Aſia, where ſhe would have ſo little to gain, and ſo much to loſe. That power is not ignorant of the ſecret wiſhes formed on all ſides for the overthrow of an edifice which obſtructs all the reſt. The ſubah of Bengal ſecretly murmurs at his not having ſo much as a ſeeming authority. The ſubah of the Decan is inconſolable to ſee his commerce under the countroul of a foreign power. The nabob of Arcot endeavours to diſpel the jealouſies of his tyrants. The Marattas are exaſperated to find nothing but obſtacles to their depredations. All the powers in thoſe parts, either are actually enſlaved, or think themſelves at the eve of being ſo. England, we may preſume, would not wiſh to ſee the French at the head of ſuch a confederacy. A ſtrict neutrality for the Indies would ſuit them beſt, and we may be ſure this is the ſcheme they would gladly follow.

BUT would this ſyſtem be as eligible for their rivals? Certainly not. The French are informed that warlike prepa-

preparations made at the iſle of France might be of great ſervice; that the conqueſts of the Engliſh are too extenſive not to lie expoſed; and that ſince their experienced officers are returned home, the Britiſh poſſeſſions in Indoſtan are only guarded by young people, who are more intent upon making their fortunes than upon military exerciſes. It is, therefore, to be preſumed, that a warlike nation would eagerly ſeize an opportunity of repairing their former diſaſters. At the ſight of their ſtandards, all theſe oppreſſed ſovereigns would take the field; and the rulers of India, ſurrounded with enemies and attacked at once on the north and on the ſouth, by ſea and by land, would infallibly be overpowered.

THEN the French, conſidered as the deliverers of Indoſtan, would emerge from that ſtate of humiliation into which their own miſconduct hath plunged them. They would become the idols of the princes and people of Aſia, provided the revolution they had brought about was to them a leſſon of moderation. Their trade will be extenſive and flouriſhing ſo long as they know how to be juſt. But this proſperity would end in ſome fatal cataſtrophe, ſhould an inordinate ambition prompt them to plunder, ravage and oppreſs. To give ſtability to their ſituation, they muſt even, by noble and generous proceedings, force their rivals to forgive them their advantages. No great magnanimity will be requiſite, patiently to endure the operations of the northern nations of Europe in the ſeas of Aſia.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.


BRITISH MUSEUM
15